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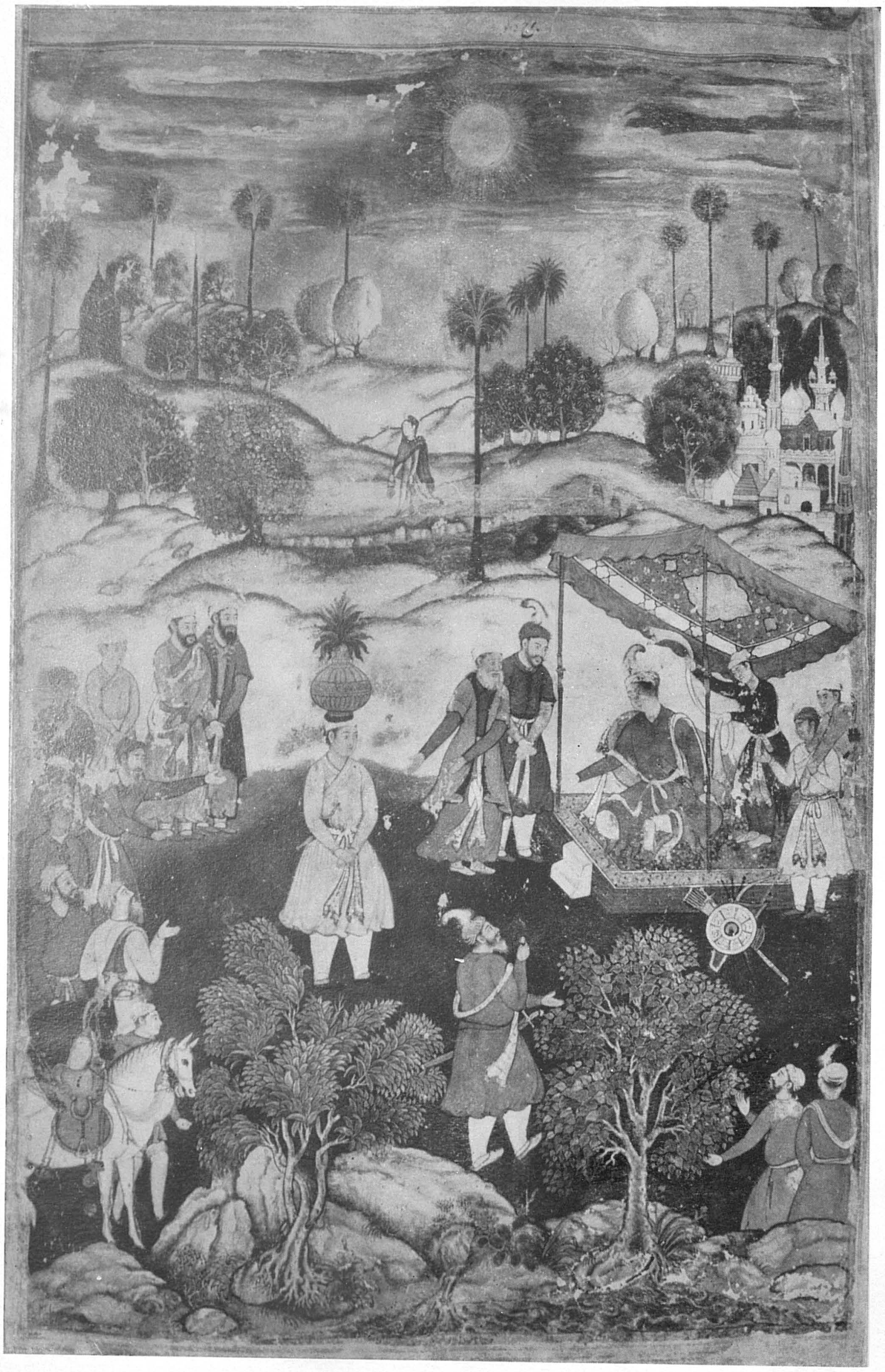

Illustration of the Zodiac sign Aquarius, *circa* A.D. 1570.
Raza Library, Rampur.

AN EARLY AKBARI ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT OF TILASM AND ZODIAC

Karl Khandalavala and Jagdish Mittal

One of the very earliest of illustrated Akbari manuscripts is in the Raza Library, Rampur. It is a collection of *amils* (talismans) for the cure of various diseases, for fulfilment of various desires such as harm to one's enemies or for creating a certain desired mental or physical condition in a person. Such talisman manuscripts have been produced since long in Persia, the subject being a branch of the occult science known in Persian as *Nairanjāt* (magic) or *'Ulūme Sirrīya* (secret knowledge). It is difficult to say which text is illustrated in the Rampur manuscript as there were many books known as *Majmū'ah Tilasm* or *Majmū'ah Nairanjāt:* Moreover, there could be as many talismans as there are human desires. In another category of talismans which are known as *Siflī*, recourse is taken to impure practices, but in the present manuscript only the *'Ulvī* or purer category of talismans are mentioned.

The manuscript in its present state has sixteen folios (32 pages) measuring 18 × 13 ins. with paintings on both sides of each folio. There are seven full page illustrations of signs of the Zodiac and the remaining twenty-five pages have six paintings to a page. Each of these six paintings on a page varies in size from approx. 6 × 5¾ ins. to approx. 6 × 6 ins. The seven large size paintings approximately measure 16½ × 11 ins. The signs of the Zodiac which are illustrated in these seven paintings are as follows:

Gemini	=	*Burje Jauzā*
Cancer	=	*Burje Sartān*
Leo	=	*Burje Asad*
Scorpio	=	*Burje 'Aqrab*
Sagittarius	=	*Burje Qāus*
Virgo	=	*Sambul*
Aquarius	=	*Burje Dalv*

Each of the six talisman miniatures on each page has a description in Persian on the top of the miniature in the border. That the present borders have been provided, long after the paintings were done, can be deduced from the *Shikasta* calligraphy and the fact that even the edges of the original borders can be seen. Originally the text pertaining to each talisman was written below the painting, but the present text which copies the original text appears on the new borders at the top of each miniature. Apart from these descriptions the manuscript has no other text. We thank Sri Mohummad Ashraf for translations and information.

The paintings are done on paper lined with coarse linen in between and not direct on linen as in the case of the famous *Hamza Nāma* illustrations with which they invite immediate comparison. In some paintings where the paper has become worn, the linen lining can be seen. Thus it is evident that each folio was prepared by pasting paper to the front and the back of the linen lining. It seems, this technique was also originally intended for the *Hamza Nāma*, as we shall see later on, but was probably abandoned because of the very large size of the *Hamza* paintings. The manuscript is incomplete for it originally must have had twelve paintings of the signs of the Zodiac, one for each month of the year, and probably thirty paintings

for each month, making a total of 360 talisman paintings on sixty folios, though today we have only 25 pages with 150 miniatures. There was also probably a full text giving detailed instructions with regard to each talisman and describing its efficacy, potency and the use of various herbs, medicines and other things which are suggested in brief in the border descriptions.

None of the illustrations bears the name of any artist but we can be sure that these miniatures are amongst the earliest efforts of the Indian painters gathered in Akbar's atelier under the supervision of the Persian masters Sayyid Mir Ali and Abd-us-Samad. More than half the existing paintings are in almost perfect condition and preserve to this day their rich glowing colours as intense and vivid as the most colourful passages in the *Hamza Nāma* illustrations. Some, however, are in a poor state of preservation. The folios are bound in a modern binding.

That the manuscript once formed part of the great Imperial library of the Emperor Akbar is certain and probably was in considerable demand for inspection by the more highly placed harem inmates[1] who, no doubt, were given to the usual intrigues, bickerings and internal jealousies which characterized all such establishments. Not a few of them must have been addicted to a prevalent practice in this country, namely of seeking to achieve one's ends through the performance of "black magic" rituals.

In size, technique, excellence of craftsmanship and colour, the manuscript stamps itself as a production of the Imperial atelier and must have been produced by the command of Akbar himself. The inquiring mind of the Emperor, even if free from superstition, would certainly have taken delight in pictorial representations pertaining to the strange and weird "science" of *amils*. It was *par excellence* a matter to evoke his interest. In the *Āin*[2] it is said that Akbar was interested in the curiosities of science amongst other subjects.

Though this manuscript belonged to the Nawābs of Rampur, it did not form part of the treasure seized by their ancestors, the Rohillas, who sacked the royal palaces of Delhi in the 18th century. The records of the Raza Library indicate that it was a much later acquisition. This manuscript is not mentioned in the *Āin-i-Akbarī* as one of the manuscripts illustrated for Akbar but we now know that Abu'l-Fazl referred to only a few of the manuscripts which were illustrated for the Imperial library.

The paintings are characterized by that brilliance of colour, sweeping movement and an atmosphere of the miraculous also to be found in the *Hamza Nāma* illustrations. But they differ in composition. In the *Hamza Nāma* the composition is intricate and embraces a multitude of figures with architecture often dominating the scene or occupying an important role in the overall design. On the other hand the *Tilasm* miniatures, excluding the large size Zodiac paintings, have for the most part compositions in which there are only one or two human figures or an animal or a bird. But this feature of the manuscript is no doubt due to the fact that it illustrates a peculiar 'science' and has to conform to its needs. It may be observed that no other Akbari manuscript has such vigorous representations of animals and birds. Even the *Anwār-i-Suhaylī* of A.D. 1570 in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, or the masterpieces of Mansur, Padarath and Inyat in the Jehāngīr period despite their greater refinement and despite the fact that they may be more accurate animal or bird studies, do not achieve the powerful initial impact of the *Tilasm* paintings. The other dominating feature of the composition in our manuscript is the constant use of land-

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1 In the *Āin* it is stated "Some of the books are kept within and some without the harem." *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Translation by H. Blochmann), Calcutta 1939, p. 109.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 110.

scape backgrounds handled with all the bold dramatic effect of a successful drop-screen, beautiful in itself and at the same time acting as a foil to the principal figures.

On stylistic grounds we would ascribe the *Tilasm* manuscript to the earliest years of the *Hamza Nāma* project and it is almost certainly the work of several artists who were also employed on that grand undertaking. It is somewhat strange that the date of the *Hamza Nāma* should any longer be controversial. Badaoni, a contemporary historian, in the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*[1] indicates that it was completed in A.D. 1582 and had taken fifteen years to complete, which means that it was in production from A.D. 1567 to A.D. 1582. However, it has repeatedly been stated by several writers that the *Hamza Nāma* was commenced in the reign of Humāyun though there is no evidence whatsoever to support this statement. When Humāyun took the two Safavid artists, Sayyid Mir Ali and Abd-us-Samad into his employ at Kabul, it could only be because of his admiration of the great atelier of Shah Tahmasp and his inclination accordingly would surely be towards that manner of painting. He was in exile from A.D. 1540 to A.D. 1555 and could not have built up an atelier of Indian artists under the two Persian masters at Kabul. He returned to India in A.D. 1555 and died in A.D. 1556 and it is difficult to believe that during this short period, with all its troubles of keeping his throne secure, he formed an atelier, enlisted Indian artists and had them trained sufficiently to undertake the vast project of the *Hamza Nāma*. That Indian artists possessed the latent skill to be trained in the Persian manner need not be doubted but that is a very different proposition from the one which has sometimes been advanced namely that great Hindu artists existed before the advent of the Mughals and that they could straightway on enlistment into the Imperial atelier undertake a project like the *Hamza Nāma* or our *Tilasm* manuscript. The basis for this contention is an erroneous interpretation of a passage in Abu'l-Fazl's *Āin-i-Akbarī*. In Blochmann's translation of the *Āin* it is stated as follows:

> "More than a hundred painters have become famous masters of the art while the number of those who approach perfection and of those who are middling is very large. This is especially true of the Hindus; their pictures surpass our conception of things. Few indeed in the whole world are found equal to them." (p. 114)

This has been construed to mean that there were great Hindu artists before Akbar's time (pre-Akbari) who were employed by the Emperor in his atelier and that even before they entered his service their work was of such a high order that there was no equal to them in the whole world. But the correct interpretation of this passage, for which we desire to thank that eminent Persian scholar, Imtiyaz Ali Arshi, the learned librarian of the Raza Library, is as follows:

> "What may I say about India. The Indians (Hindra) who had never drawn the picture of this meaning *(mʿana)* on the page of their imagination have *now* become so much competent that they have no equal to them in the whole world."

The implications are obvious. The writer Abu'l-Fazl is at pains to emphasize the fact that Indian artists (not necessarily Hindus), who, prior to their employment by the Emperor, had no concept of the art of painting in the splendid manner developed at the court of Akbar, had as a result of the training given to

[1] *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh* (translation by Ranking) Vol. 3, Calcutta 1898, p. 329.

them by the Emperor under the guidance of his Persian masters became so proficient that their work called for the highest admiration. Nor can it be said that this is only the flattery of Abu'l-Fazl to please his master. Nothing which has hitherto come to light as being the work of Indian artists prior to the reign of Akbar would warrant the supposition that there were great Indian or Hindu painters before his reign, even if we were to assume that the *Laur Chandā* of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay,[1] was painted prior to the formation of Akbar's atelier, a problem that still awaits solution. This *Laur Chandā* manuscript, despite its merits and importance in any study of Indian painting, is a far cry from the great Akbari school of manuscript illustration and miniature art. If there was any hesitation in accepting the statement in the *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, that the *Hamza Nāma* was produced in the reign of Akbar, though there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of a careful contemporary historian, such as Badaoni, the matter is put beyond the realm of speculation by two more contemporary accounts for the correct translation of which we are much indebted to Shri Arshi who was at great pains to help us to ascertain the correct date of the *Hamza Nāma*. The *Hamza Nāma* is referred to in the *Tārikh-i-Akbarī* well known as *Tārikh-i-Quandahārī*. The date of the last event mentioned in this account is 989=A.D. 1581. The writer states that the *Hamza Nāma* has three hundred and sixty *dāstāns* (tales) and that altogether a hundred persons including artists, decorators and book binders were employed on its production. The size of each painting was one and a half *gaj shar'i* (one and a half times the length from the finger tips to the elbow) and it is further stated that the *wasli* was made by pasting two sheets of paper with *parcha chawtar*, i.e. cloth or linen of four threads (a form of weaving) in between. Probably this method of preparing the *wasli* was intended for the *Hamza Nāma* paintings and hence it is mentioned by the author but, in actual practice, the paintings were prepared direct on the linen carrier and have paper pasted at the back on which the text is written. We are also informed that the margins had flowers and other decorations and that it took two years to produce each volume. In the *Nafa' is u'l-Ma'asir* commenced in A.D. 1565 and wherein the last event dealt with is of the year 982=A.D. 1574, it is said that seven years have passed and only four volumes of the *Hamza Nāma* are ready. This statement fixes the commencement of the *Hamza Nāma* to A.D. 1567 which tallies exactly with Badaoni's account.[2] The author informs us that for seven years the work was under the superintendence of Sayyid Mir Ali and now ('in these days') that he has gone to Mecca, Abd-us-Samad has been given the task of superintending the work. The author also states that upto *now* (i.e. A.D. 1574) thirty painters have been employed on it and each painting is one *gaj* in length and one *gaj* in breadth and there are to be fourteen volumes each of a hundred paintings. There can be no doubt that the project was conceived by Akbar for the author further states that it is the seventh year that Mir Judea (Sayyid Mir Ali), who joined the court of *Jannat a Shiani* ('who is in paradise', meaning Humāyun) in Kabul, is busy in preparing the paintings of *Qissāh Amir Hamza* by the order of Hazrat Ala (Akbar) and that each folio has two paintings one on each side (probably meaning the painting and the text) and in each painting is depicted the event relating to that page (page of text) in the present day Persian. The writer of the text is named as Attaullah Munshi Qizwini. Taking into account all these contemporary writings of undoubted authenticity including the *Āin* we may conclude:

1 Khandalavala and Motichandra, "Three New Documents of Indian Painting," *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 7, p. 5.

2 A similar statement appears in the *Massir-ul-Umara* (Translation by H. Beveridge), Vol. I, Calcutta 1941, p. 454. But Badaoni says "on each page is a picture."

(1) The *Hamza Nāma* was conceived by Akbar and prepared under his orders and that the work commenced in A.D. 1567 under the superintendence of Sayyid Mir Ali. It may be noted that according to the *Massir-ul-Umara*,[1] Akbar was so fond of the *Hamza* tales that he used to recite them in his female apartments to the inmates thereof.

(2) That by A.D. 1574 only four volumes had been produced out of original twelve or fourteen or sixteen volumes in the project.

(3) That in A.D. 1574 Sayyid Mir Ali went away to Mecca and the work was thereafter in charge of Abd-us-Samad.

(4) That it was completed in A.D. 1582. What seems to have happened was that at first the progress was slow and thirty artists were employed on it, but after A.D. 1574 it was probably produced at a much faster rate by employing more artists and that must be the reason for the statement in the *Massir-ul-Umara*[2] that fifty artists were employed in its production.

Perhaps one of the reasons for the slow progress of the *Hamza Nāma* in its early stages was that the atelier had still an insufficient number of artists and some of these were from time to time engaged to illustrate other manuscripts which captured the Emperor's fancy, such as the *Tilasm* manuscript, and the execution of which could not await the completion of the *Hamza Nāma*.

Though the *Tilasm* manuscript undoubtedly falls within the period A.D. 1567-1582 there is good reason to think that it belongs to the period A.D. 1567-1570 or thereabouts. It is not feasible to regard it as later if we compare the treatment of landscape in it to that of the *Anwār-i-Suhaylī* in the School of Oriental and African Studies dated A.D. 1570. Both in manner and technique its landscape has several features similar to the paintings of the *Anwār-i-Suhaylī*. Unlike the *Hamza Nāma*, it would not be necessary for a period of more than a couple of years or so to be taken to complete the MS. Nor can it be much earlier than the period to which we have assigned it because it would have taken some time for Indian artists to progress beyond the stage of the *Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* dated A.D. 1559 (referred to hereafter) and achieve the technical excellence which marks many passages, particularly of landscape, in our *Tilasm* MS. Its workmanship, which is a mixture of refined and coarse passages and its naive approach indicates that it is the work of artists who were still in the process of being groomed by the two Persian masters to achieve that degree of refinement and technical skill necessary for perfection in miniature painting of high quality such as was achieved later on in Akbar's reign. The figure of the young king in the zodiac painting (Frontispiece) is obviously meant to depict young Akbar himself. It shows a youth of about twenty-five years of age and may well imply that the artist who painted the miniature executed his commission near about A.D. 1569 which we feel could not be far from the truth when we compare these large zodiac paintings with the two large illustrations to the *Deval Devi Khizer Khan Manuscript* in the collection of the National Museum, New Delhi, dated A.D. 1568. Another manuscript to which attention may be invited on the question of the date of the *Tilasm* paintings is the *Anwār-i-Suhaylī* dated A.D. 1570 in the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, though it is conceived in a much quieter note. But the most important manuscript for throwing light on the date of our *Tilasm* paintings is an *Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* in Arabic dated A.D. 1559 in the Raza library. It is obviously painted in India and even if not a product of the Imperial atelier some

[1] *Massir-ul-Umara* (Translation), p. 454.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 454.

of its figures indicate that here we have the earliest efforts of Indian artists to achieve the brilliant yellows, blues etc. seen in the *Tilasm* MS. Though these early efforts are much cruder than the *Tilasm* paintings, nevertheless they provide a clue to the date of the *Tilasm* MS. Thus a chocolate coloured horse, a blue dragon, a trumpeter, men with large faces, etc. in this *Aja'ib al-Makhluqat* enable us to sense the beginnings of a new movement seen in a much more highly developed form in the *Tilasm* paintings. On this basis we feel that we can with some measure of confidence ascribe the *Tilasm* paintings to *circa* A.D. 1567-1570. Though in common with the *Hamza Nāma* the attitudes of the various figures in the *Tilasm* miniatures are often stiff and the powerful drawing often coa se, yet there are bursts of technical brilliance particularly in the handling of the landscape. In this matter it should be compared to the landscape elements in the *Anwār-i-Suhaylī* of A.D. 1570. The *Tilasm* paintings seem to proclaim not only a conscious effort by their creators to achieve a degree of skill in the handling of details and to absorb the teachings of the Persian masters but also the emotional thrill of a new assignment and the vista of a horizon hitherto unknown to them. What they had previously been accustomed to illustrate consisted of the stereotyped Jain canonical works, rather coarse bourgeois productions of the late 15th and early 16th century such as the *Āraṇyaka Parvan* of the Bombay Asiatic Society[1] and at best such manuscripts as the *Laur-Chandā* illustrations of the Prince of Wales Museum[2] and the Rylands Library, Manchester.[3] In these *Tilasm* miniatures one sees a veritable riot of ideas and colours in which Persian, Central Asian, European and indigenous influences are seen cheek by jowl creating a new brilliant style which we also see in the *Hamza Nāma* though not always so vividly. These tendencies may well have caused misgivings in the mind of so conservative an artist as the Safavid master, Sayyid Mir Ali with his exquisite brushwork and refined colouring but on the other hand it may well have aroused the enthusiasm of the more rugged and less meticulously trained Abd-us-Samad. In fact there is a very significant passage with regard to this artist in the *Ain.*[4] It is stated that though he knew the art of painting before he entered the service of Akbar, his perfection was mainly due to the wonderful effect of a look of His Majesty which caused him to turn from that which is form to that which is spirit. Here we feel is a metaphorical reference to the transformation which was taking place from the conservative Safavid style to the new style of mixed Persian and indigenous influences which characterize the *Hamza Nāma* and our *Tilasm* paintings. We have always been of the view that it was Abd-us-Samad who was sympathetic to this new trend and fostered it and encouraged it. In fact we believe that many of the sketches for individual figures and compositions in the *Hamza Nāma* and in the *Tilasm* paintings are his creations and they became standardized or were further evolved in the hands of his gifted pupils. Akbar appreciated this new development in painting and gave it full support. Thus we have it said that a look (inspiration) of His Majesty caused Abd-us-Samad to discontinue the pure Safavid style (form) and put his heart and soul in the development of a more vigorous and vital style (spirit). Abd-us-Samad, it seems, was well-versed in mural painting and hence he must have encouraged the *Hamza Nāma* paintings to be done in the style of murals. That he was himself a mural

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1 Motichandra and Khandalavala, "An Illustrated Manuscript of the Āraṇyaka Parvan," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay*, Vol. 38/1963 (New Series), pp. 116-121.

2 Khandalavala and Motichandra, "Three New Documents of Indian Painting," *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, No. 9, p. 5.

3 Khandalavala, Motichandra, Pramodchandra and Parameshwarilal Gupta, "A New Document of Indian Painting," *Lalit Kalā* No. 10, pp. 45-54.

4 *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Translation), p. 114.

painter is apparent from a story in the *Āin*[1] where Khān-i-Āzam Mirzā Aziz Kokā invited Sharif, the son of Abd-us-Samad, to his house for a meal and then deliberately insulted him by saying that he (the son) was feasting in the very room, the walls of which had been painted by his father, Abd-us-Samad whereupon some of the guests rose and left in indignation. Apparently, the Khān-i-Āzam looked down on painters. But obviously the disciplining processes had to continue and the pristine joy of the new experiment was not to be captured again. With the advent of Farrukh the Qalmaq, as the head of the Imperial atelier, the refining processes became complete. Slowly but surely the Indian artists who were novitiates in the new style were drilled into the finished style that reached its perfection in such paintings as the great *Akbar Nāma* of the Victoria and Albert Museum. The brilliance and vitality of the *Tilasm* paintings is the heritage of forms of expression which came naturally to the Indian artists with their love for strong colouring and their predilection towards naive renderings. Though they learnt much from the Persian masters and greatly advanced their natural skills their early outlook persisted in the *Tilasm* paintings and this factor accounts for much of their fascination.

Akbar was only twelve years of age when he came to the throne and it is unlikely that he would have at that age conceived of building up a great atelier of artists. With many more important things to do he probably allowed the two Persian masters who had accompanied his father to continue with their own work and perhaps engaged a few pupil-artists to assist them. The Sultanate courts do not seem to have built up any ateliers of any consequence though an occasional Persian painter may have worked at these courts and on occasion one or two Indian artists may have been employed to assist him and thus acquire some acquaintance with the methods of Persian artists. This is what may well have happened when the *Ni'mat Nāma* was painted for the Sultanate court at Mandu probably by a Persian artist with Indian assistants. The *Laur Chandā* of the Prince of Wales Museum, however, appears to be the work of Indian artists trained under a Persian or Ottoman painter. Or there may have been a division of labour between a Persian artist and his Indian assistants. But such instances are few and far between and it is unlikely, at least on the basis of the available evidence, that there was any atelier of note or magnitude at the Lodi Sultanate court of Delhi or at any other Sultanate court, which was absorbed by either Humāyun or Akbar. Had there been any such ateliers which were absorbed into the Imperial studio of Akbar then so keen an observer as Abu'l Fazl would not have failed to mention their existence. But when Akbar had consolidated his position and could attend to matters other than warfare he visualized every project which he had in mind on a large scale. It is this characteristic of the Emperor that led him to build up a great atelier once he had decided that he would maintain artists at his court to illustrate various manuscripts which appealed to his catholic tastes. Akbar's outlook on all matters was beyond the ken of lesser men and the breadth of vision he displayed came to him naturally. How much the whole course of Indian miniature painting owes to this ruler has not been sufficiently appreciated. He gathered Indian artists from all parts of the country—Gujarat, Kashmir, Uttar Pradesh, Deccan etc. and this gathering of artists from different indigenous schools no doubt also contributed in the beginning to the exotic character of such paintings as are seen in our manuscript. The Indian artist always had a daring sense of colour and this asserts itself in the *Tilasm* paintings. There are no Mughal miniatures so powerful in their visual appeal through sheer

[1] *Āin-i-Akbarī* (Translation), p. 583.

impact of colours as those of the *Tilasm* MS. Even the most spectacular folios of the *Hamza Nāma*, due to their intricate composition, do not quite achieve those pulsating colour harmonies which characterize many of our more simply composed *Tilasm* paintings. While it is certain that an important feature of the training of the Indian artists was the process of being familiarized with a large number of Persian paintings and European prints, it was inevitable that the colour sense of the indigenous artists and their own manner of rapid draughtsmanship would be impressed to some extent on all their earlier work at the Imperial atelier. Both the *Tilasm* MS. and *Hamza Nāma* belong to this formative period. From a study of these paintings it is plain to see that though the Persian masters succeeded wonderfully in their task, Mughal painting could never remain a shadow of Persian painting. We believe that Abd-us-Samad was the master who was not only quick to realize this fact but even welcomed this early phase of development.

As can be seen in the reproductions the caption above each painting (except the Zodiac signs which are only named in brief) is divided in four parts. First the subject of the painting is described, secondly some talismanic words are given, thirdly the medicine to be used with the talisman is noted and lastly the effect of the particular talisman is stated.

The large Zodiac paintings may conceivably have been commenced after the smaller *Tilasm* miniatures were completed. In these smaller paintings there are several more charming scenes which it has not been possible to reproduce, namely squirrels climbing a pine tree; duck, rabbits and monkey in a landscape; monkeys on a banyan tree; man ploughing in a landscape setting; elephant in a landscape setting and a crocodile and a crab also in a landscape setting. This partiality for delightful landscape settings of rocks and trees is a characteristic of our manuscript. Though it is highly probable that the *Tilasm* MS. was illustrated under the supervision of Abd-us-Samad and not Sayyid Mir Ali, it would be very difficult to go any further and attempt to name any of the Indian artists who took part in its production. If we are right in thinking that it belongs to the period A.D. 1567-70 then Daswanth, of whose work so little exists, despite the high praise given to him by Abu'l-Fazl could not have formed one of the group of artists engaged on the *Tilasm* MS. Our reason for saying so is that the head of Akbar's atelier till A.D. 1574 was Sayyid Mir Ali. In that year he left for Mecca and Abd-us-Samad was given the work of superintending the *Hamza Nāma*. Thus he became the head of Akbar's atelier. Now we know from the *Āin* that Daswanth was a *kahar* that is to say a person doing menial jobs. The eye of the Emperor fell on him as he used to draw on the walls. Naturally when the Emperor himself had made a discovery and desired that the talent discovered by him should be trained, the task would not be entrusted to anyone less than the head of the atelier, for to do otherwise would hardly be consonant with Mughal royal dignity. We are informed in the *Āin* that Akbar handed him over for instruction to Abd-us-Samad which implies that Abd-us-Samad was at that time the head of the atelier. Since this could not be before A.D. 1574, it follows that Daswanth's training at the earliest in the Mughal atelier began in that year. Even assuming that due to his genius he attained sufficient excellence in two years to be employed on the various projects of the atelier it would mean that Daswanth did not enter the ranks of court painters till at least A.D. 1576. If any painting considered to be of a date earlier than that bears an ascription to Daswanth then obviously the ascription is an interpolation or the date suggested is incorrect. This must be borne in mind in dealing with any painting that purports to be the work of Daswanth. Thus if the

Pl. I

Fig. 1. A man holding a spear in his hand, *Folio 1*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 2. A man with a black serpent, *Folio 2*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 3. A man with two faces, *Folio 3*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 4. A vulture, *Folio 4*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

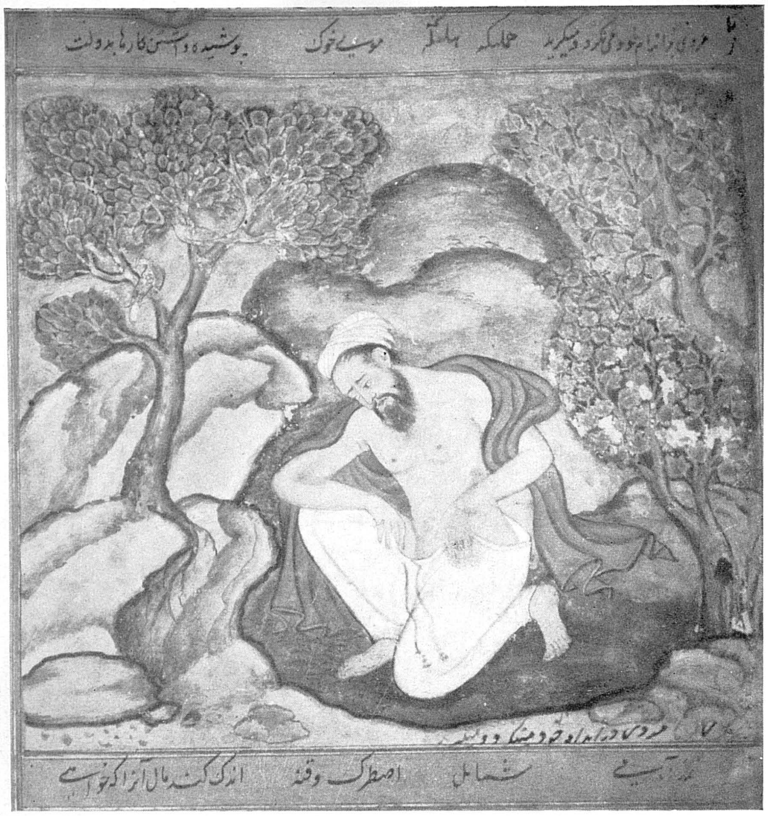

Fig. 5. A man looking at his private parts and crying, *Folio 7*. *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

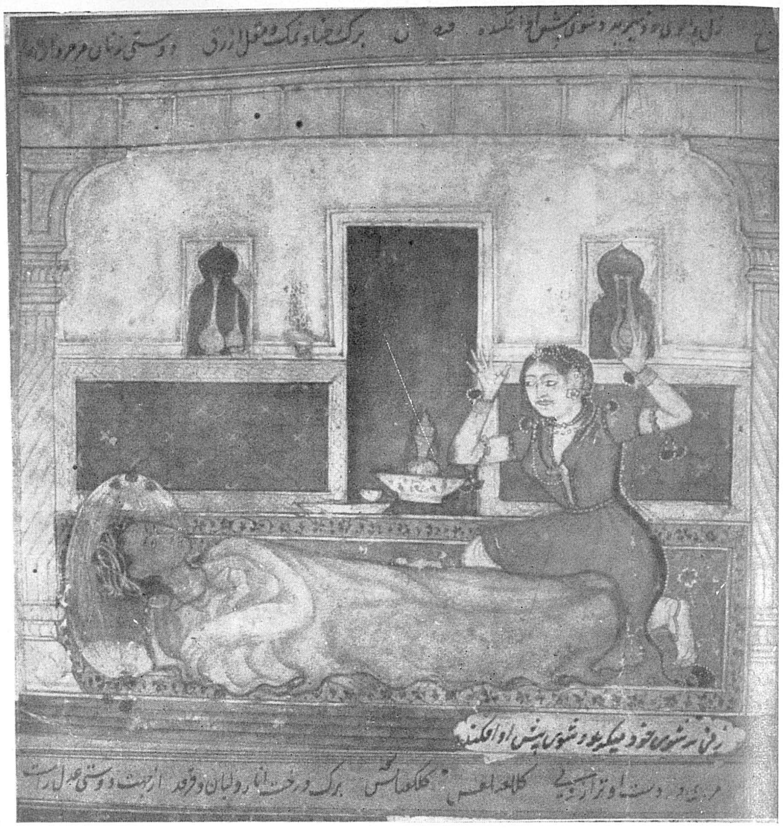

Fig. 6. A flirt crying before her dead husband, *Folio 8a*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

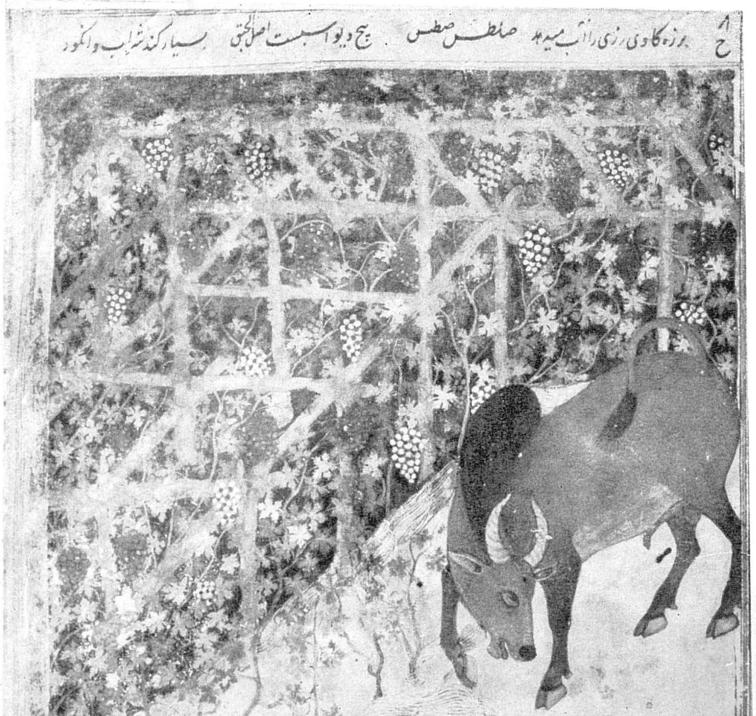

Fig. 7. Ploughing ox brought for drinking water, *Folio 8b*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 8. A man with scales in hand, *Folio 10*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 9. A man utters unintelligible words, *Folio 12*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 11. A man riding a big fish, *Folio 14a*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

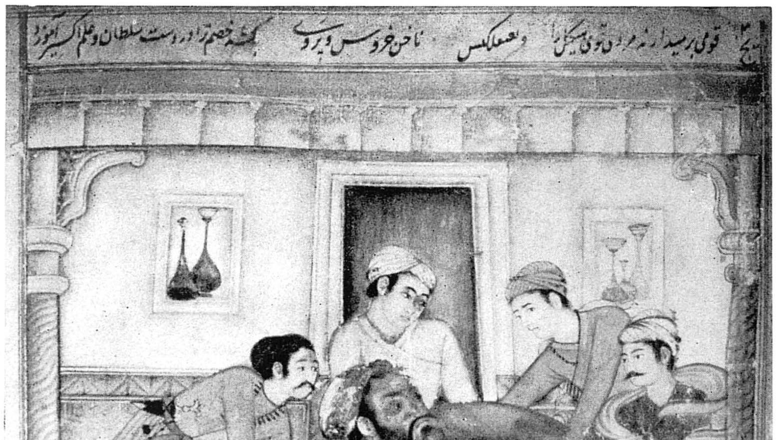

Fig. 10. Some people lifting an obese man, *Folio 13*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

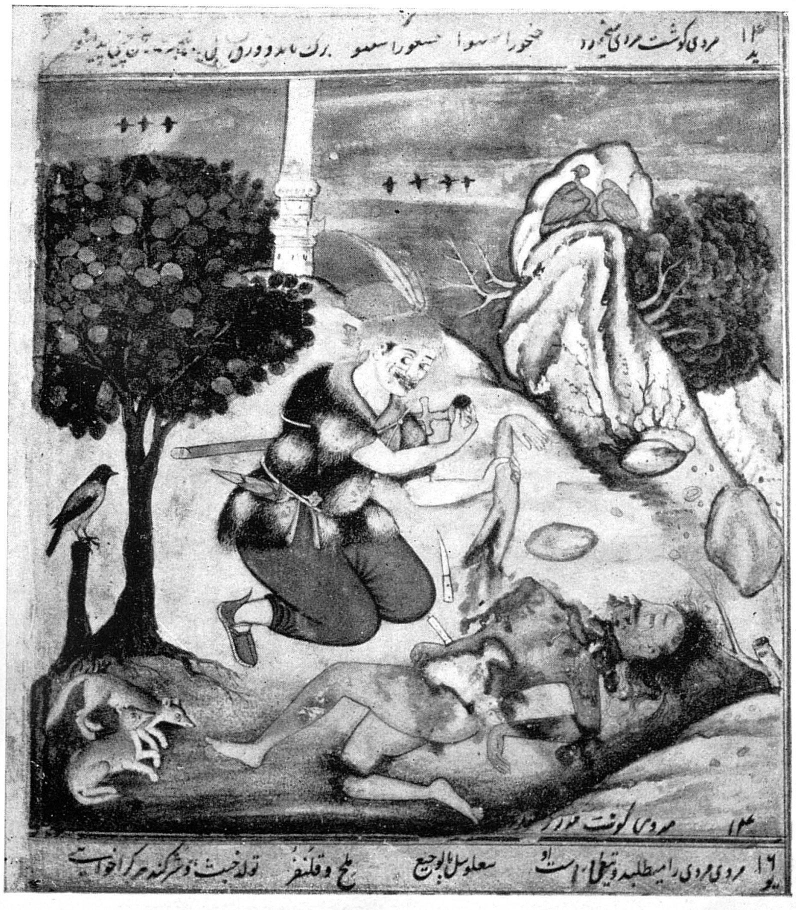

Fig. 12. A man eating the flesh of a corpse, *Folio 14b*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 13. Two women suffering from stoppage of urine, *Folio 15*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 14. A bird, *Folio 16*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

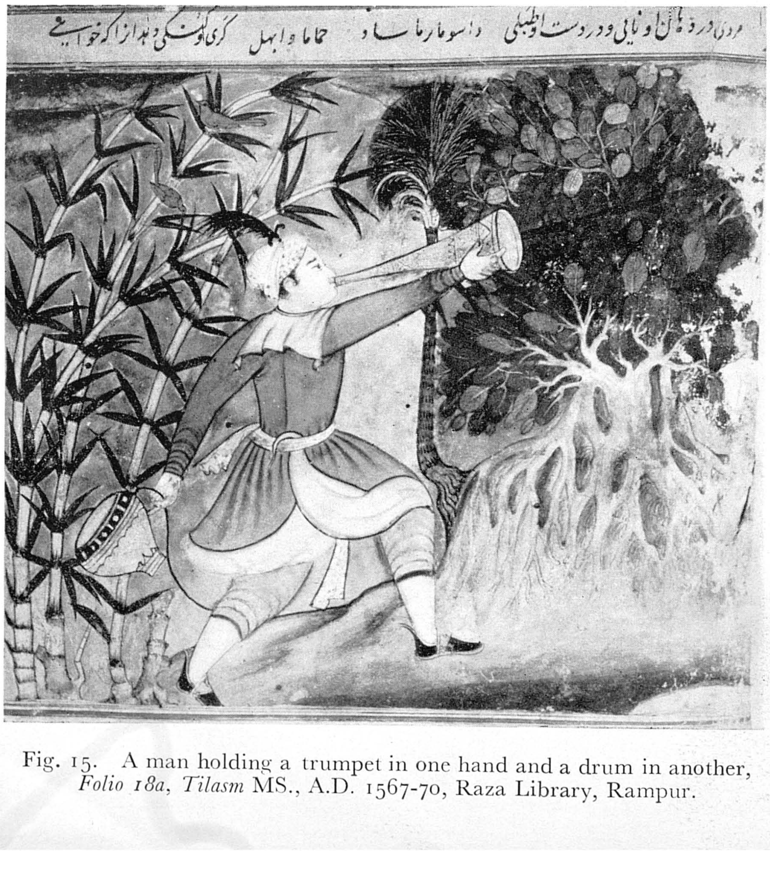

Fig. 15. A man holding a trumpet in one hand and a drum in another, *Folio 18a*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 16. Slave girls sporting in a stream, *Folio 18b*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

signature or ascription to Daswanth in the Cleveland Museum's *Tūti Nāma*[1] is to be regarded as genuine then that MS. could not be earlier than A.D. 1576. In fact a date about A.D. 1576-1580 is more than likely for this manuscript which appears to be prepared for some patron other than the Emperor just as several *Razm Nāma* copies were prepared for Akbar's nobles by lesser artists. The ascriptions seem to be later additions. It is well to remember that a copy of the *Razm Nāma*, in three volumes, now in the Birla Museum at Calcutta, has an ascription to Sayyid Mir Ali though he left India in A.D. 1574 and the *Razm Nāma* was not commenced till A.D. 1582. The *Tūti Nāma* not being one of the earliest Akbari manuscripts, though so claimed to be,[2] does not invite comparison with the *Tilasm* paintings which belong to a different category of expression and style.

DESCRIPTIONS OF PLATES

Pl. I, Fig. 1. A man holding a spear in his hand. (तततलू ततातू साथ). Cantharides. Can send wind on whomsoever you wish. Orange *jāmā*, white turban, white *salvār*. Green trees, gold sky. White and pinkish architecture. Blue and yellow bolster, blue carpet.

Pl. I, Fig. 2. A man with a black serpent in his hand. (तत् सत् हलत् तत्फ़हत्). Slough. Your enemy will arrest you with your own hands. Bright green *jāmā*, red *salvār*, red turban, white *paṭkā*. Black serpent. Black rocks in the foreground, purple rocks in the background, blue tree trunk, blue sky. The stiff attitude of the arms, the squat figure, the roundish face and the characteristic *aṭpaṭī* turban may be noted.

Pl. I, Fig. 3. A man with two faces. (बरदह काहबर्ण बरदहाफ़र्ज). Leaf of 'mayangosh' (an odoriferous plant). Increases the dignity of whomsoever you wish. White *jāmā*, red *salvār*, red caps, orange *dupaṭṭā*, yellow *paṭkā*, green slippers. Purple and pink rocks, grey water, white duck, gold sky. The *jāmā* is of the four-pointed *chākdār* type. Throughout the series the treatment of rocky landscape is usually dramatic.

Pl. I, Fig. 4. A Vulture. (कख़तख़ लकऊस). Faeces and feather of wild duck. You will know about treasures and hoards. Grey vulture with black and white feathers, reddish ruff, red legs, grey-green beak. Purple and green rocks, brown tree trunk, coloured stones in foreground, blackish water, clear blue sky. The ominous appearance of the vulture is rendered with great insight.

Pl. II, Fig. 5. A man looking at his private parts and crying. (हमलीका हलीला). Hair of swine. Keeps hidden the court politics. Orange scarf, white *salvār*, white turban, pink body. Purple and green rocks, green trees. The figure of the man is obviously inspired by a print or painting of Christ which the artist had seen. Though Akbar's first contact with the Portuguese was in A.D. 1572 at Cambay and again in A.D. 1573 at Surat, nevertheless, Christian books or paintings may well have come to his court much earlier through various sources.

Pl. II, Fig. 6. A flirt is crying before her dead husband. (illegible). Henna leaves, salt and myrrh. (Gets) friendship of woman for man. Red dress, purple covering. White and brown architecture. The realism that marked Mughal painting can be seen even at this early stage in the face of the dead husband and the horror writ on the woman's face.

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1 Sherman Lee and Pramod Chandra, "A newly discovered *Tūti-Nāma*," *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. CV, December 1963, p. 549.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 553.

Pl. II, Fig. 7. Ploughing ox brought for drinking water. (सलतस सतस). Five genii or horses. Increases wine and grapes. Chocolate coloured bull, grey horns, purple and green grapes against dark green vines and dark grey staves of the bower. Fawn coloured background and grey water. This painting may be compared with an illustration of the *Hamza Nāma* reproduced in Stanley Clarke, *Indian Drawings*, London, 1921, pl. 12, where a similar vine bower is seen.

Pl. II, Fig. 8. A man with scales in hand. (कलाअलफस कलकफबालस). Leaves of pomegranate tree, frankincense and a calf. For keeping friendship with justice. Lilac coloured *jāmā*, red scarf, blue *salvār*. Dark green and grey trees. White and yellow architecture, beige tiles with blue lines, red railing. Blue jug, red and brown scale.

Pl. III, Fig. 9. A man utters unintelligible words. (हजलीतलद बातरबद). Birds' feather and beard's hair. Whomsoever you wish will utter a lie. Red *jāmā*, grey turban, white *dupaṭṭā*, blue boots. Brown hillside, purple and brown rocks, green trees, yellow flowers, blue sky. White temple. The four-pointed *chākdār jāmā* is again seen.

Pl. III, Fig. 10. Some people lifting an obese man. (वक्यायफल कक़स). Nail and feather of a cock. The Sultan will kill your enemy and you will learn gold-making. The fat man wears an orange *jāmā* while the attendants wear white, green, yellow, purple and black *jāmās*. Turbans are white, red and green. Pink architecture. Blue carpet. The fat man should be compared with a somewhat similar figure in an illustration of the *Hamza Nāma* reproduced in Gluck, *Haemzae*, p. 73. The composition has the feeling of stir and commotion often seen in the *Hamza Nāma*.

Pl. III, Fig. 11. A man riding a big fish. (अतसस ताहवन). Tallow and feather of a vulture. Have easy access to town. Black-grey fish, red *jāmā*, green *salvār*, white turban and *paṭkā*. The *jāmā* is the four-pointed *chākdār* type. Purple and green rocks, black water, gold sky.

Pl. III, Fig. 12. A man eating flesh of a corpse. (खनखोरासहवा ख़स्फपोरा सनो). (illegible). Creates habit of back-biting and fault-finding. Grey cap, grey coat. Grey blue ground, purple rocks, blue sky, Grey blue jackals. The macabre character of this scene is carried out with admirable imagination, unpleasant though it be.

Pl. IV, Fig. 13. Two women suffering from stoppage of urine. (या सफ़ईसा). Blood and feather of pigeon. For love and benevolence. Girl to left wears orange *pairan*, white *salvār* and the one to the right a blue *pairan* and yellow *salvār*. Green plantain trees. Grey tiles, pinkish *maṭkās*, architecture white, brown and blue. Brown tiled low parapet. The girl on the left wears a four-pointed *chākdār pairan*. The facial types appear to be evolved from indigenous sources appearing in pre-Mughal painting but avoiding angularity. Note the *oḍhnīs* (wimples) standing out stiffly behind the head which was also a feature of the earlier indigenous schools of painting.

Pl. IV, Fig. 14. A bird. (रहतहहा नफ़्सतहा). Leaf of an apple tree. Your enemies will be wiped off. Black bird. Purple rocks, gold sky. The architecture in the background seems to have been inspired by a European drawing seen by the artist.

Pl. IV, Fig. 15. A man holding a trumpet in one hand and a drum in another. (दास्यार यासाद). Dove and juniper seed. Whomsoever you wish will become deaf and dumb. Red and blue coat, yellow *salvār*, white turban, fair complexion. Purple foreground, beige hillside, two red birds on a bamboo. Pale green

bamboos with dark green leaves. Dark green tree. Gold trumpet. The treatment of the bamboos is exquisitely decorative.

Pl. IV, Fig. 16. Slave-girls sporting in a stream. (बलोतीबाजज़). Accacia. Retains wealth. Grey water, white surf. The complexions of the girls to the right are pinkish white. One girl to the left is dark. Purple rocks. Blue sky. The garments hanging on the tree are orange and grey. Animal faces are seen in the rock formation to the left, a device borrowed from Persian painting.

Pl. V, Fig. 17. A man carrying head of an old man in one hand and a dagger in another. (लालासरमाहा माहूकार). Dried leaf of violet. For making the country powerful. White *dupaṭṭā*, red coat, yellow boots, blue breeches. Purple rocks, grey and purple architecture. Trees green. Purple scabbard. Gold sky.

Pl. V, Fig. 18. A man holding head of an old woman in one hand and spear in another. (हलासल हयातोसाल). Bone of a dead ass and feather of a duck. Can make giddy whomsoever you wish. Orange *jāmā*, white *salvār*, red turban, white *dupaṭṭā*. Green ground, purple rocks, blue sky. White architecture. The architecture in the background may denote some Central Asian influence.

Pl. V, Fig. 19. A man running very fast. (खूरूस). Small chameleon also (illegible). Orange *jāmā*, white *salvār*, green *dupaṭṭā*, white turban, yellow shoes, black and white *paṭkā*. Purple rock.

Pl. VI, Fig. 20. Waterfall. (ऊसाईल). Bathe five times. In whomsoever you wish pus can be formed. Gold background, purple and grey rocks, green trees, black water and two white herons. A very lovely hill landscape. This is a new innovation in Indian painting, which unfortunately did not become prevalent.

Pl. VI, Fig. 21. A man resembling fairies. (मालेकसामा हो साहलोस). 'Lada' (a gum herb) and amber. Begets fraud, dispute and sedition. Garment of brown, black and white etherial skin worn over garment. Wings are red, blue, green and brown. Orange staff, purple rocks, gold sky. The treatment of the wings suggests the influence of a Christian subject with angels seen by the artist.

Pl. VI, Fig. 22. A Saddled horse. (समहासल). 'Mariyam' tree and frank-incense. Removes malice and poverty of anyone you wish. Blue background, dark green foreground, gold sky. Chocolate coloured horse, orange saddle. The stockily built horse is reminiscent of the mount in Abd-us-Samad's painting of the Wali of Baghdad in the Raza Library reproduced as Pl. IX in *Indian Painting Under The Mughals* by Percy Brown. The sketch of the horse was probably prepared by Abd-us-Samad himself and he may have executed the entire painting.

Pl. VI, Fig. 23. A man walking through mud and fire. (वहालस बालस). Wolves, hair. Fraud goes away from whomsoever you wish. Orange *jāmā*, white *salvār*, purple rocks, blue sky.

Pl. VII, Fig. 24. A man holding a big key. (सलसासल सासासल). A wine pot's sherd and unleavened bread. Eases difficult tasks. Orange *jāmā*, white *salvār*, blue turban, white *dupaṭṭā*, red *paṭkā*. Brownish-pink architecture, brown tiled foreground, green-grey tiled wall. The *jāmā* is of the four-pointed *chākdār* type.

Pl. VII, Fig. 25. A man standing with a sword in one hand and a head in another. (सहलूलूल महलूल). Amber and 'Lada'. Enmity is created between two men whomsoever you wish. Red *jāmā*, green *salvār*. Purple ground, purple rocks, gold sky. Green trees. The *jāmā* is of the six-pointed *chākdār* type.

Pl. VII, Fig. 26. A jungle cock or some long-tailed bird, seated on a tree. (दसातसल). Ivory chips. Valour and manliness are created. Brown rocks at left, purple rocks at right. Blue sky, grey water. Brown tree-trunk, green leaves, green entwining creeper. Orange breasted bird of multi colours.

Pl. VII, Fig. 27. Half killed camel. (हलफ्फत अलसहम). Seed of betel. Whomsoever you wish will become powerless. Green, purple and brown rocks. Green trees. Beige coloured camel against green ground and gold sky. The drawing of the camel is masterly and in the best Persian manner. The sketch was probably prepared by Abd-us-Samad himself even if he did not execute the entire painting.

Pl. VIII, Fig. 28. Two men wrestling, one of them with two heads. (हसूमामलत् औहाल). Cloves and 'Lada.' Patience is good in adversity. Left figure wears orange jacket, white *salvār*. Right figure wears blue jacket, yellow *salvār*. Purple rocks, beige ground, gold sky. White architecture.

Pl. VIII, Fig. 29. A handsome man with both hands raised. (मजनूँबाल). 'Ud-e-mistri.' Increases your wealth without any loss. Orange *jāmā*, white *salvār*, grey turban, white *paṭkā*. Brown brickwork, green trees, golden vessels, blue carpet.

Pl. VIII, Fig. 30. A woman going to Turkish-bath. (तहाहील). Leaves of 'sadab' (rue) and 'Chirayta.' Burns debtors. Lady on left wears yellow gown, blue *oḍhnī* and white *chagatai* cap, while the lady on the right wears a red gown, bright green *oḍhnī*, yellow *chagatai* cap. Brown tiled architecture. White domes topped with green, blue and red tiles. Green tiled foreground.

Pl. VIII, Fig. 31. A man standing with a key and dagger in his hands and opening a door. (मकसूरान मैहलूसाल). Eye and feather of a swallow and amber. Wisdom, knowledge, science and astrology will be recompensated. Deep red *jāmā* with blue collar, white turban, white *paṭkā*, grey breeches. Fawn and brown architecture.

Pl. IX, Fig. 32. A woman seated on a throne. (सरवाल बरजाल). Bones of a cow and dried fenugreek. Does away with headaches and increases virility. Orange *pairan* of the four-pointed *chākdār* type, white *salvār*. Green cyprus tree, white architecture, yellow bolster, blue carpet, golden vessels. Blue cartouche against head of the lady. Gold throne with fringe of orange cloth. Here again we may note that the female facial type is being evolved from female types in pre-Mughal indigenous painting.

Pl. IX, Fig. 33. A man seated on a tall tree. (हसबनाबैजा). Sandal and white wax. Fruits will be in abundance. Red *jāmā*, white *salvār*, white *paṭkā* and turban. Purple rocks, green palm, gold sky. Whitish coloured architecture. The flying cranes in the upper right corner became a very popular motif in later Indian painting and flights of cranes are common in both Rajasthani and Pahārī art. Here are the very beginnings of the motif.

Pl. IX, Fig. 34. A man sowing wheat but not covering it with earth. (खरताकलकोरत कललतुरबुत). It is for town's people. White *salvār*, red sash, white turban. Green trees in the background, white flower on brown stemmed plant. Blue sky.

Frontispiece. *Burje Dalv*. One of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, Aquarius. The figure carrying a *maṭkā* on his head wears a pink *jāmā*. The attendants are dressed in *jāmās* of bright green, pink, yellow, red, purple, orange and blue. The foreground is dark green, rocks purple and water grey-black. Upper sky blue, sun gold, lower sky gold. The rolling downs are green, purple and pink. The architecture is white, brown, purple and pink. The Prince seated under the canopy is no doubt intended to depict the youthful Akbar himself.

Pl. X, Fig. 35. *Sambul*. The Zodiac sign Virgo. The European influence may have come to Akbar's atelier by A.D. 1570.

Photographs courtesy Jagdish Mittal.

Fig. 17. A man carrying head of an old man in one hand and a dagger in another, *Folio 19, Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 18. A man holding head of an old woman in one hand and a spear in another, *Folio 20a, Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

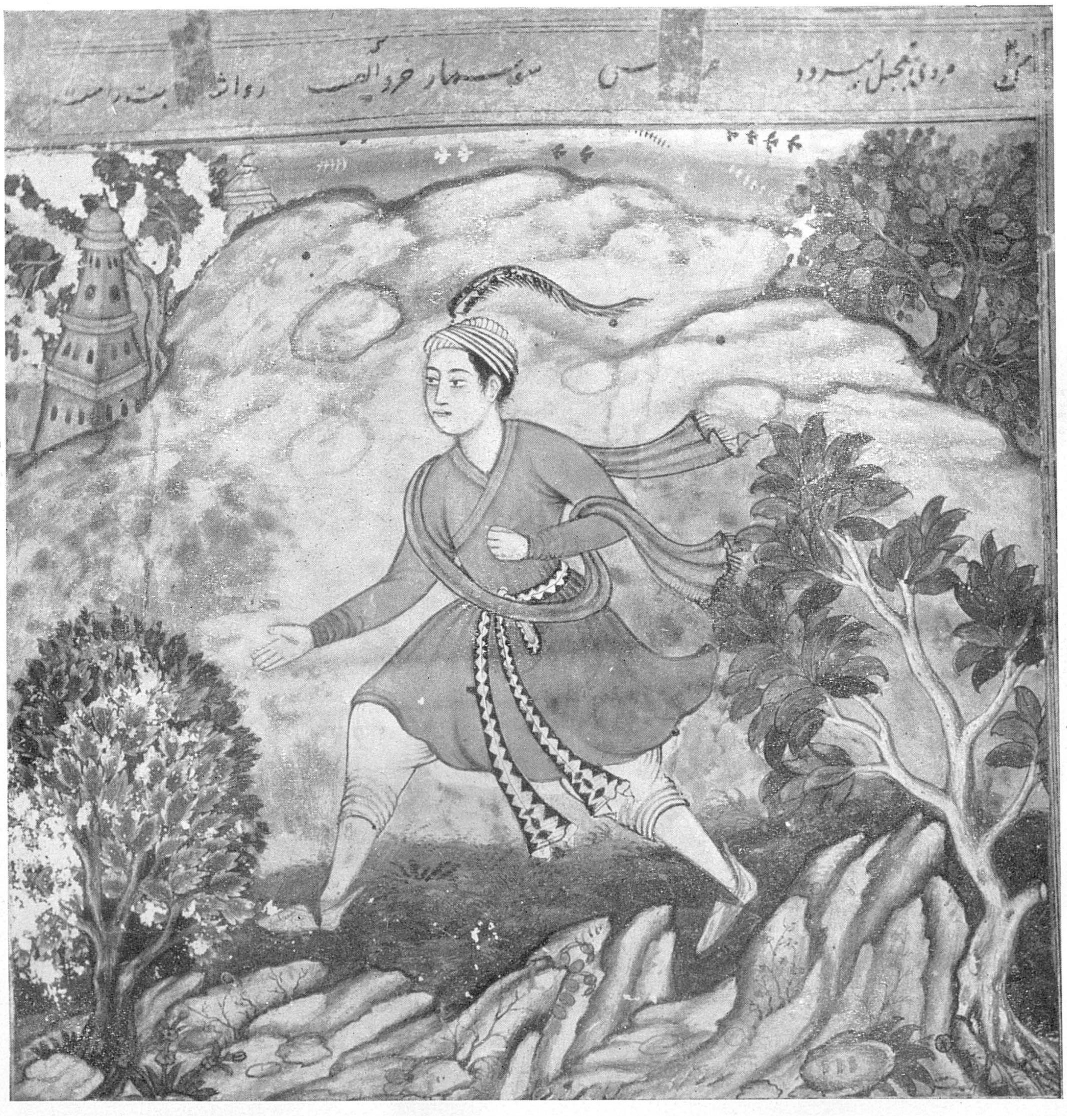

Fig. 19. A man running very fast, *Folio 20b, Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 20. Waterfall, *Folio 22a*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 21. A man resembling fairies, *Folio 22b*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

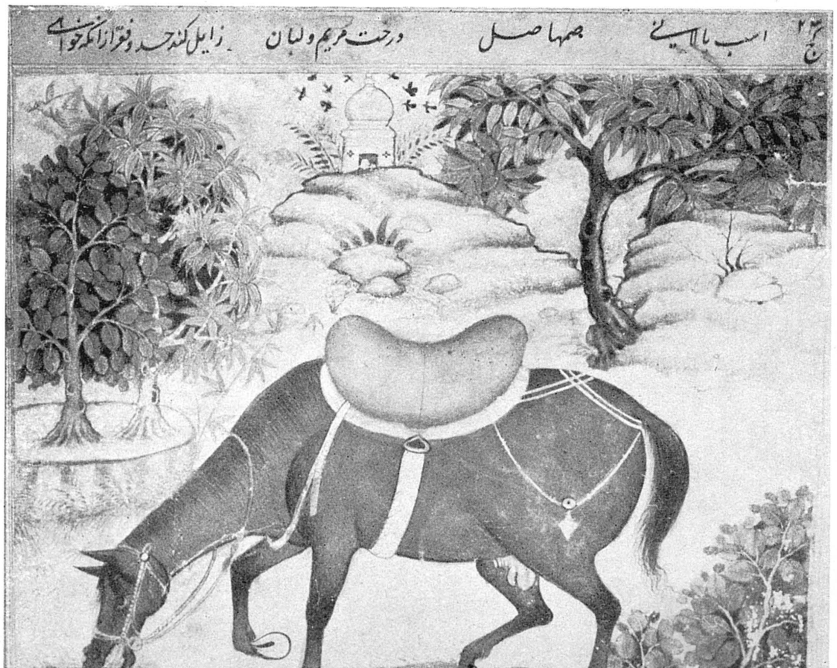

Fig. 22. A saddled horse, *Folio 23*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 23. A man walking through mud and fire, *Folio 24*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 24. A man holding a big key, *Folio 25a*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 25. A man standing with a sword in one hand and a head in another, *Folio 25b*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 26. A jungle cock or some long tailed-bird seated on a tree, *Folio 25c*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 27. Half killed camel, *Folio 26a*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 28. Two men wrestling, one of them with two heads, *Folio 26b*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

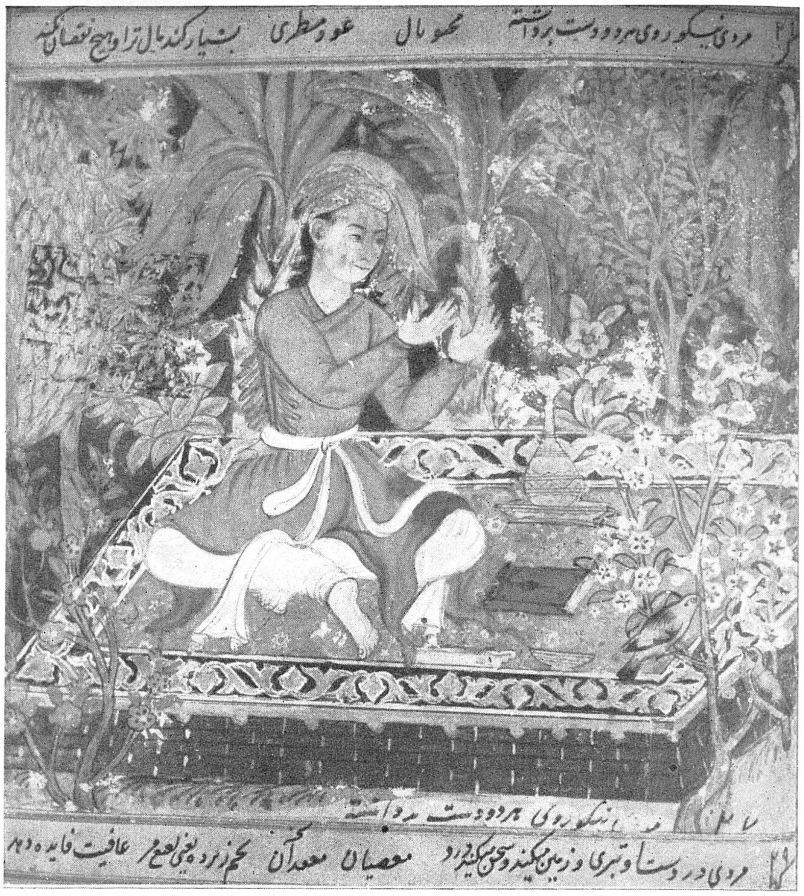

Fig. 29. A handsome man with both hands raised, *Folio 27*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 30. A woman going to Turkish-bath, *Folio 28a*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 31. A man standing with a key and dagger in his hands and opening a door, *Folio 28b*, *Tilasm* MS., A.D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 32. A woman seated on a throne. *Folio 29*, *Tilasm* MS., A. D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 34. A man sowing wheat, but not covering it with earth, *Tilasm* MS., A. D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

Fig. 33. A man seated on a tall tree, *Folio 30a*, *Tilasm* MS., A. D. 1567-70, Raza Library, Rampur.

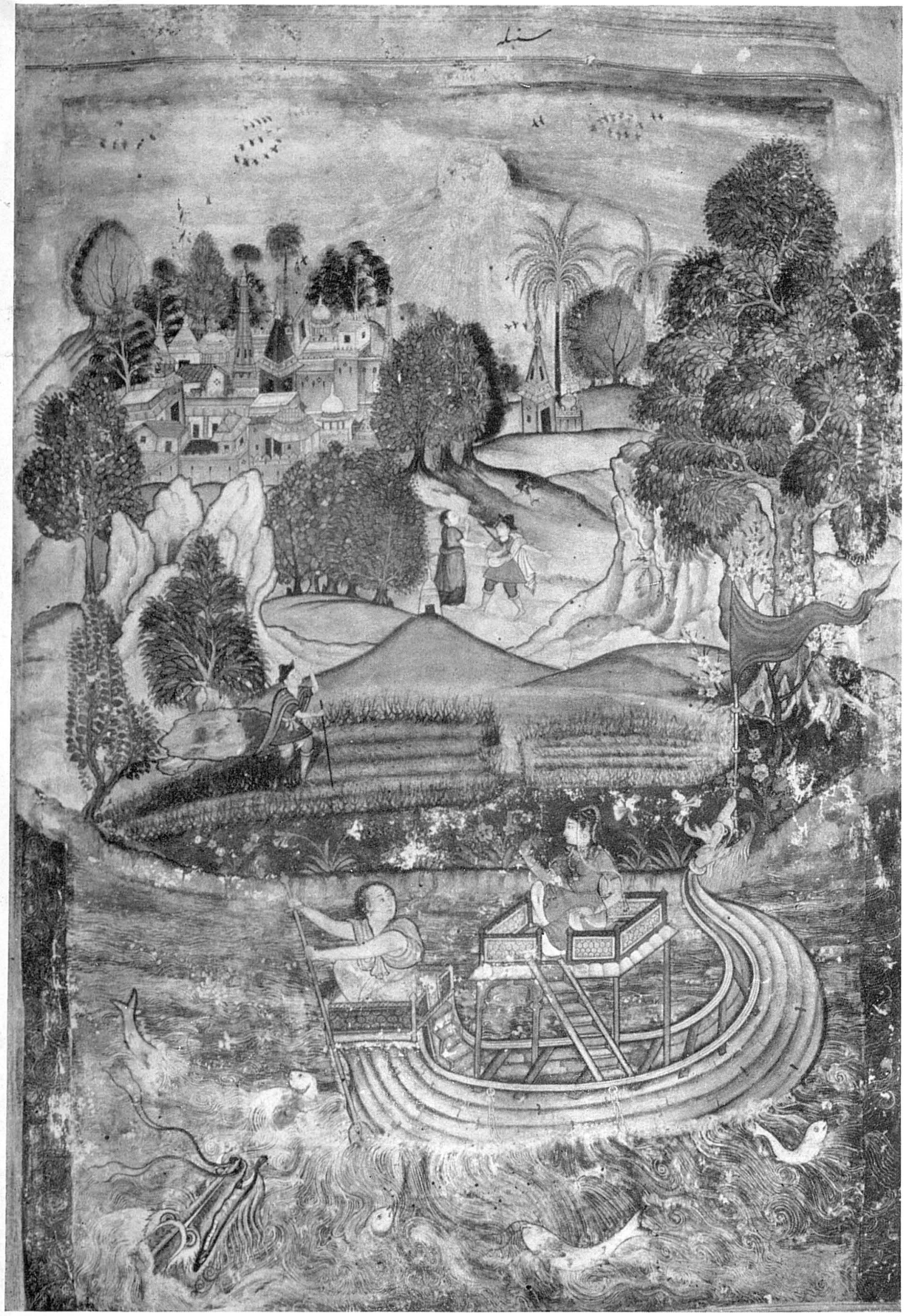

Fig. 35. *Sambul* (The Zodiac sign Virgo), *circa* A.D. 1570, Raza Library, Rampur.

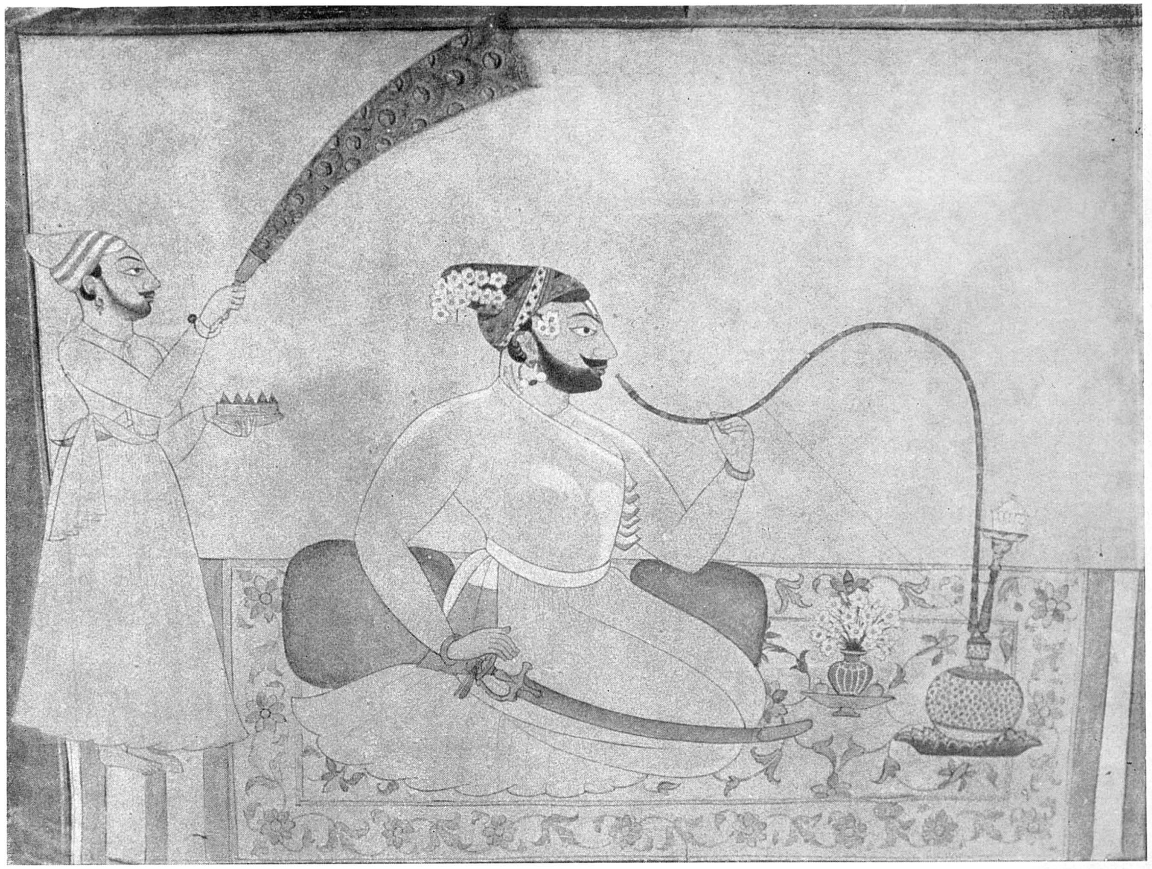

Fig. 1. Portrait of Diwān Indra Dev Rājā of Bandralta, A.D. 1732, Collection of Sri Dharmapala.

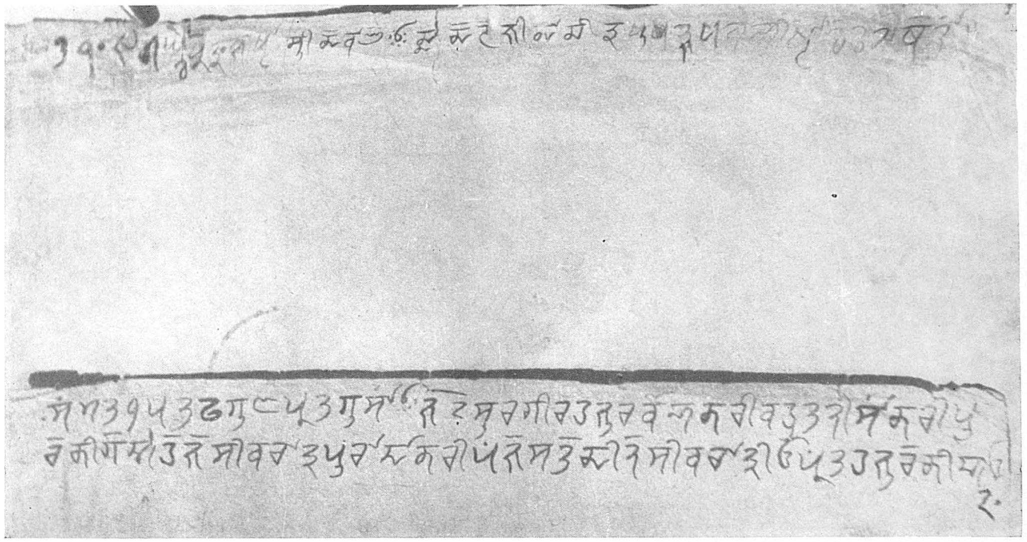

Fig. 2. Inscription on the reverse of Fig. 1.

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FOUR PAHĀRĪ PORTRAITS

Vishva Chandra Ohri

THREE PORTRAITS OF RĀJĀ DIWĀN INDRA DEV OF BANDRALTA

A number of contemporary portraits of Diwān Indra Dev Rāja of Bandralta, now known as Ramnagar in the province of Jammu, are extant. Three portraits of the *rājā* are published here on Pl. X, Fig. 1 and Pl. XI, Figs. 3 and 4. All the pictures are good studies of the *rājā* and are characterised by vigour and boldness, the principal features of Basohli painting. The lines are lively and rhythmically blended with a forceful characterisation of the subject of the portraits. Stylistically these paintings appear to be the work of the second quarter of the 18th century as after A.D. 1750 Basohli painting was more and more influenced by the refinement and naturalism of the Kangra *Kalam*.

The portrait (Pl. X, Fig. 1) bears an inscription at its back in Dogri characters. Certain letters of this script namely *a*, *ka*, *sa* and *ma* are different from Takri. This sometimes helps to establish the area, if not the exact provenance, of a picture. The inscription reads as follows:

सम्वत— ८ मघैर प्र. ३० लिख्या श्री देवान इन्द्र दे
जी दा चित्र खुडखल रेहन्दे थे ताँ ।

"On 30th of *Maghar Samvat* 8 this picture of Śrī Diwān Indra De was painted.
(He) was then living at Khurkhal."

Between the word 'Samvat' and the numeral 8, two symbols are to be seen. The first symbol resembles the Arabic number 9. Thereafter a dot is marked. As discussed below the year is indicated only by the number 8. This refers to *Sastra* Samvat which is also known in the hills as *Kaccha* Samvat. The corresponding year of the Christian era is thus (17)32. The Samvat indicated in the inscription is not to be regarded as being written in three numbers. The practice of recording the year in this manner has previously also been noticed. Recently the present writer saw a Takri letter written on behalf of Rājā Brijarāja Dev of Jammu (A.D. 1781-87) to Rājā Rāj Singh of Chamba (A.D. 1764-94). The letter has been acquired for the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba, and will be published separately. In this letter the year is indicated in the manner of the so called three numbers. Judging from the period of the reigns of the *rājās* and the year indicated in the letter, it is clear that in between the word 'Samvat' and the year a symbol is used. The year mentioned in the letter is 58 which corresponds to A.D. (17)82. The symbol in the letter and in the inscription on the reverse of the picture (Pl. X, Fig. 2) are marked in a similar way. This letter has helped to solve the mystery of the so called three number dates which were unintelligible so far. Now there cannot be any doubt about the reading of the year written in the inscription on the back of the portrait of Rājā Indra Dev. The inscription discussed unequivocally tells that it is a contemporary portrait painted in the year A.D. 1732. Fortunately other information exists to ascertain the period of Rājā Indra Dev.

Rājā Indra Dev was given the title of Diwān at the Mughal Court and he was a contemporary of Mahārājā Ranjit Dev of Jammu (A.D. 1735-81) and also a vassal of the latter. Indra Dev was succeeded by the following *rājās:*

Diwān Indra Dev
|
Rājā Rājpat
|
Rājā Bhagawant Singh
|
Rājā Jagat Singh
|
Rājā Bhūp Dev
|
Rājā Chandra Dhar Dev

According to a decree of the 4th Har 1879 (corresponding to the 17th of June A.D. 1822) the state of Bandralta was conferred upon Rājā Suchet Singh Jamval by Mahārājā Ranjit Singh of Panjab. In the line of primogeniture four *rājās* ruled after him while the fifth in the line, Rājā Chandra Dhar Dev was ousted in A.D. 1822. Even if we give the shortest possible span to the reigns of the four successors of Indra Dev we come to the conclusion that Indra Dev died by about A.D. 1750.

Another portrait of the *rājā* shows him (Pl. XI, Fig. 3) at a younger age as compared to his portrait with the inscription discussed above. In this portrait (Fig. 3) the early characteristics of Basohli painting are quite evident and the picture must have been painted about A.D. 1725. We can easily place it at a period about seven years in advance of the portrait in Fig. 1. One more portrait of the *rājā* (Pl. XI, Fig. 4) though following to a great extent the style of the portrait Fig. 1, is very interesting and important. We find that the face of the attendant standing before the *rājā* is drawn in a somewhat different style assimilating the characteristics of the Pre-Kangra phase of Pahārī painting. While the general impression and the treatment of the nose of this figure is in the new style, the treatment of the eye has not fully changed. However, the effort appears to be towards realism. This picture cannot be far removed in time from the portrait Fig. 1, and thus it might have been painted before A.D. 1740. The peculiar stylisation of Basohli painting which is distinct in the portrait Fig. 2 has slightly changed in the portrait Fig. 3, which may be due to the local development of the style as also to the new influences which had started coming to the hills during that period with the influx of artists from the plains. On account of these facts some portraits of the *rājās* which have not been correctly indentified have been assigned to a much later period than that to which they really belong. The name of the *rājā* is clearly written in Takri on the back of the portraits (Figs. 3 and 4).

Three other portraits of Rājā Indra Dev have been published in *Pahārī Miniature Painting* by Karl Khandalavala. Fig. 76 of the Study Supplement is inscribed in Takri at the top margin and reads '*Śrī Diwān Indra De Bhandral.*' This inscription was not deciphered in Khandalavala's book and the picture was tentatively classified as belonging to the Nalagarh idiom of Basohli painting in the last quarter of the 18th century. The treatment of the face of Lakshmī in this picture indicates that it is a work of the second quarter of the 18th century. Two more portraits of the *rājā* are published as Figs. 73 and 74 in the same book and it can be clearly seen that they depict Indra Dev. These portraits should also be assigned

to the second quarter of the eighteenth century. Thus all these portraits of Rājā Indra Dev are contemporary and are of importance in helping us to study the paintings from Bandralta (Ramnagar). Uptill now the characteristics of paintings from Bandralta were not known definitely. Moreover in some of them we find evidence of the new influences brought in by the arrival of artists from the plains in the hills during the second quarter of the 18th century.

PORTRAIT OF GOSAIN SURGĪR

The painting (Pl. XI, Fig. 5) bears inscriptions on both sides. The top margin has a brief inscription reading '*Jate Surgīr Gosain.*' On the reverse the inscription is in two lines which also contains a date. Samvat indicated is 52 which corresponds to A.D. (17)77 and the name of the Gosain is given as Jate Surgīr. The gist of the inscription is that the Gosain had gone to some village, the name of which is not clear, and that he would return after five or seven days after Śivarātri. Information of this nature recorded on the picture is curious and cannot be easily explained. The date is of the month of Phalgun, the month in which Śivarātri falls. Both the inscriptions are in Dogri characters. The picture comes from the Jammu area which is suggested both by the characters of the inscriptions and the style of painting, which is an idiom of Basohli painting. The subject of the picture partly protrudes on the border. It is painted on a thin sheet of paper, a practice common in Basohli painting of the mid-18th century. The line work and the technique of applying colour pigments and the choice of pale colours are according to the characteristics of Jammu painting of the 18th century. The treatment of hands is less graceful and appears very near the work done in the portrait of Brij Rāj Dev of Jammu.[1] The picture being a dated work and having been painted in A.D. 1777 is important for study of paintings from the Jammu area.

Note: Information about Diwān Indra Dev and his successors has been derived from *Tārikh-i-Rajputān* by Khan Singh Baluria pp. 458 and this is supported by the accounts given in other works also.

[1] W. G. Archer, *Indian Miniatures*, New York 1960, Pl. 80.

TWO UNIQUE BRONZES IN THE MADRAS MUSEUM

V. N. Srinivasa Desikan

The Government Museum, Madras has recently added to its collections two unique bronze images namely (1) a small Vishṇu and (2) a Gaṇeśa from Mangammalpuram, Lalgudi Taluk, Tiruchirappalli District which are significant due to their iconographic features.

The Vishṇu image is in the manner of the few known Pallava metal images of this deity. Though lacking the elegance and flexions of Chola icons, they have an appeal of their own. Regarding Pallava bronzes scholars hold different views. Recently Douglas Barrett of the British Museum has propounded the view that there is no extant metal icon of the Pallava period and that the bronzes that are assigned to the Pallava period are of doubtful date. But it is not possible to agree with him as there are several small icons stylistically akin to Pallava sculptures. Most of these including a Vishṇu and a Śrīnivāsa from Peruntottam, now in the Tanjore Art Gallery, a Varadarāja, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, another Śrīnivāsa in the Trivandrum Museum and a Vishṇu from Valududaiyur, now in the Madras Museum, have already been published.[1] Mention may also be made of an image of Vishāpaharaṇa in the Madras Museum wherein we find the *yajñopavīta* going over the right arm—a Pallava feature.[2] When we thus have a sufficient number of representative specimens it is hardly feasible to argue that there are no images which can be dated to the Pallava period on sure grounds. It may be remembered that Tirumangai Ālvar who is considered to be a contemporary of the Pallava ruler Nandivarman II Pallavamalla is said to have raided the Buddhist Vihāra at Nagapattinam which contained a large number of Buddha images including a few in gold.[3] This would show that already in the eighth century the art of metal casting was known and prevalent[4] and there is no reason to think that the art was confined to the Buddhist creed.

The image of Vishṇu (Pl. XII, Figs. 1 and 2) is four-handed. The upper right arm carries a *chakra* and the left a *śankha*. The lower right hand is in the *abhaya* attitude and the lower left in the *kaṭyavalambita* pose. The upper arms start from the elbow of the lower arms. This is a feature of several Pallava icons. The ornaments depicted in the image are broad necklace, flat *yajñopavīta*, flat *udarabandha*, *valayas*, *keyūras* and

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1 For illustrations of these and discussions on them, see P. R. Srinivasan, *Bronzes of South India*. Madras 1963.

2 Gravely F. H. and Ramachandran T. N., *Catalogue of the South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum* Madras 1932, p. 108.
For illustration see C. Sivaramamurti, *South Indian Bronzes*, Delhi 1963, fig. 6.

3 (i) This has been recorded in the *Guruparamparai Prabhavam* (Arayirappadi-Pannirayirappadi) of the 12th century one of the hagiologies of Tamil Vaishnavism: (Ed. Krishnamachari and others, p. 125 to 135. Printed at Poomahal Vilasa Press. 1928). There is no reason to doubt this tradition.
(ii) Parasara Bhatta's *Srirangarājastava*, verse 36. (Ed. A. V. Gopalacharya, Tiruvadi 1934). Bhatta was the younger contemporary of Rāmānuja.
(iii) Karl Khandalavala, "Masterpieces in South Indian and Nepalese Bronze Images," *Marg*. Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 15.

4 In fact one of the late Pallava inscriptions, palaeographically assignable to the late 8th or 9th centuries, mentions the making of a metal image in gold.
See "South Indian Inscriptions," Vol. IV, No. 131. The text reads as follows:
line 1. Āvul sirppa(ra)meśvara Viṇṇagarattavarkkorāyiram pon palittālam paḍimamukuḍuttā nenrarimīngle:
This has been discussed in an article entitled "A Pallava Metal Image: Epigraphical Evidence," in *Seminar on Inscriptions*, Madras 1968.

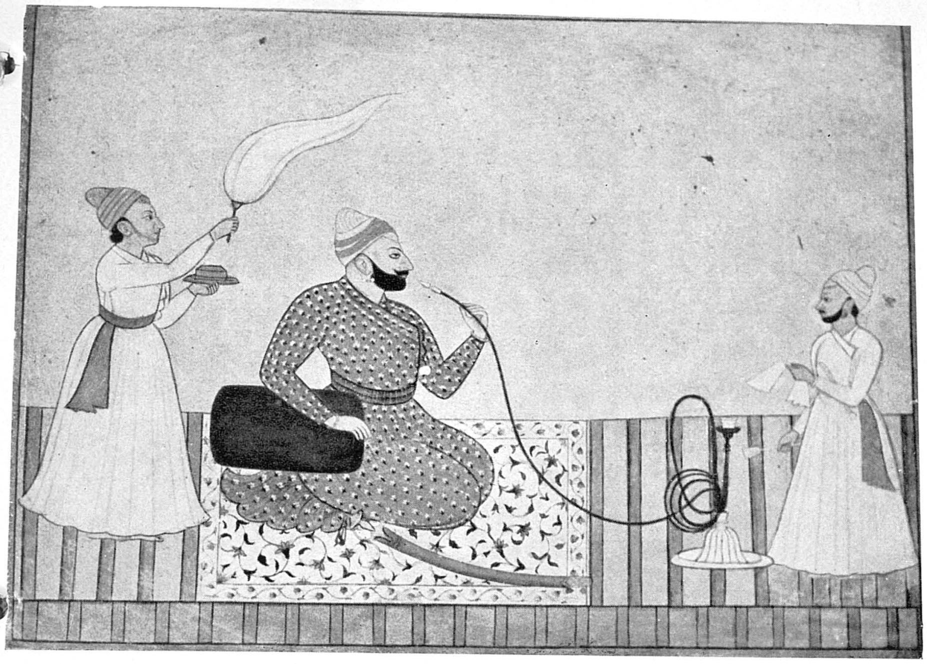

Fig. 3. Portrait of Diwān Indra Dev Rājā of Bandralta, A.D. 1725.

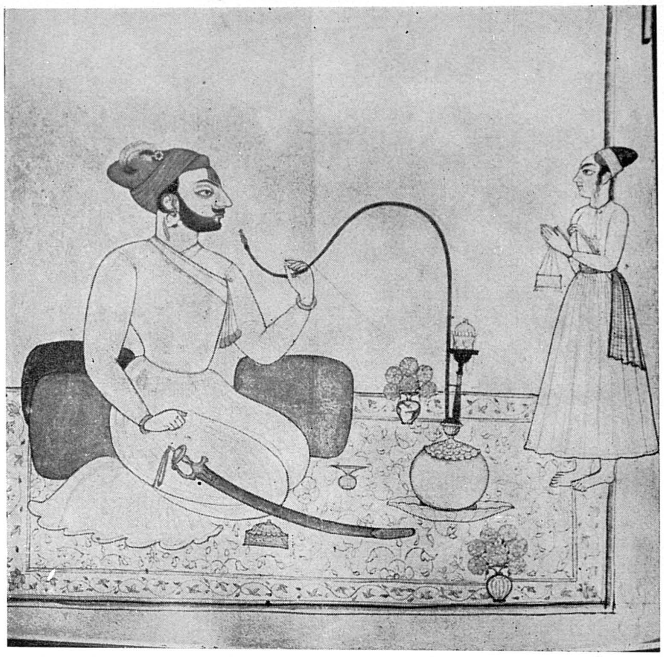

Fig. 4. Portrait of Diwān Indra Dev Rājā of Bandralta, A.D. 1732-1740.

Fig. 5. Portrait of Gosain Surgīr, A.D. 1777, Collection of Sri Dharmapala.

Fig. 1. Vishṇu from Mangammalpuram, Government Museum, Madras, Pallava period.

Fig. 2. Reverse view of Fig. 1.

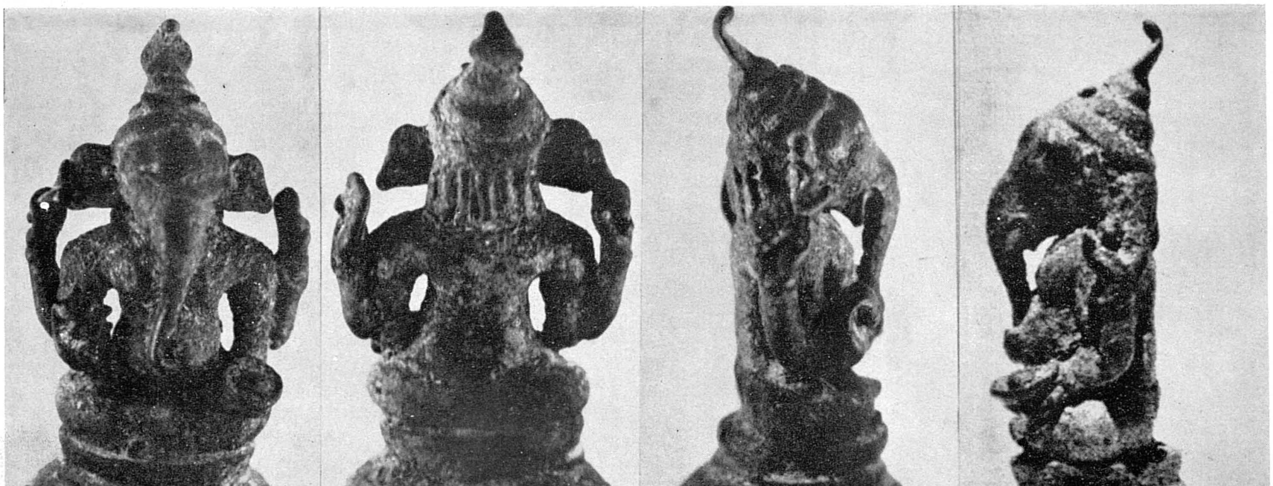

Fig. 3. Gaṇeśa from Mangammalpuram, Government Museum, Madras, Pallava-Chola transition.

kaṭisūtra, with tassels. A ring is worn on the little finger of the lower right arm. The shape of the splayed *vastra* worn with tassels is reminiscent of Pallava stone sculptures at Vallam and from Sendamangalam. The *kirīṭa* is characteristically cylindrical with designs on it and with a small knob above. The image has a prominent *śrīvatsa* symbol on the right chest in the manner of Vaishṇava icons. On grounds of style the image can be dated to the ninth century.

The image of Gaṇeśa (Pl. XII, Fig. 3) is an equally interesting icon. It belongs probably to the period of transition from Pallava to early Chola. It is seated on a circular *padmāsana*. The head and the trunk are prominent for its size. A sort of *karaṇḍa* can be noticed in the head dress in which we also find a digit of the moon and the hood of a snake above. The image probably depicts the Bhālachandra aspect of Gaṇeśa. But even so the presence of a serpent hood is unique. This is the only one of its kind in the Museum collection. The objects in the hands of the God are not clearly discernible. However, in his lower left hand he holds a cup with a *modaka* or a fruit. The trunk runs straight upto the navel and takes a curve to the left. The belly does not protrude much. As in the Vishṇu image noticed above, the upper arms of Gaṇeśa start from the elbow of the lower arms. It is this feature which imparts to this image a feeling of being in the Pallava tradition.

That this image of Gaṇeśa was a cult-icon is beyond doubt. It is in this connection that the dating of this image assumes importance. Until recently it was generally believed that the bronze image of Gaṇeśa[1] in the temple at Sivapuram village, Tanjavur District, is the earliest known example of this deity in metal. But the image under discussion probably antedates the Sivapuram icon and as noted earlier seems to belong to the earliest phase of the Chola period. Its date should not be far removed from that of Vishṇu (Pl. XII, Fig. 1). Recent researches have shown that the cult of Gaṇeśa was unknown in the Tamil land before its advent as a result of Chalukyan influences.[2] It is believed that this took place in the early eighth century or late in the seventh century. There are traditional stories regarding the bringing of an image of Gaṇeśa from Vatapi, the Chalukyan capital, by Paranjoti, the general of the Pallava ruler Narasimbhavarman (A.D. 630-648) who conquered Vatapi and occupied it for some time. Early rock-cut images of Gaṇeśa are found at Vallam,[3] Pillayarpatti and a few other places where the God is shown independently. In other places like the Kailāsanātha temple at Kanchipuram he is a constituent element in the group of Mātṛigaṇas along with Vīrabhadra. In the structural temples built in subsequent periods he occupied the *devakoshṭa* in the southwall of the *ardhamaṇḍapa* which underlines his character as *vimānadevatā*. All this development took place during late seventh and eighth centuries and by the end of this period Āgamic injunctions regarding his iconography and his place in the orientation of the temple complex were almost crystalized. It is in this perspective that one has to study the small image of Gaṇeśa under discussion. As it is the earliest or at least one of the earliest known images of the God, it indicates that by the ninth century the practice of casting his images in metal was already in vogue.

Note: The illustrations to the above article are by the courtesy of the Government Museum, Madras.

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1 Srinivasan P. R., *Bronzes of South India*, Fig. 94, pp. 154-155.

2 Srinivasan K. R., "Some aspects of Religion as revealed by Ancient Literature and Monuments," *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XXXII, No. 1.

3 Srinivasan K. R., *Cave Temples of Pallavas*, Delhi 1964, p. 64, plate XI-B.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF SOUTH INDIAN BRONZES

Being a consideration of two important publications

Early Cola Bronzes, by Douglas Barrett, Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, Bombay 1965. Price Rs. 65

Bronzes of South India, by P. R. Srinivasan, Government Museum, Madras 1963. Price Rs. 57

Karl Khandalavala

Three important studies on South Indian metal images were recently published within a short time of each other. The Lalit Kalā Akademi's *South Indian Bronzes*, by Dr. Sivaramamurti, under the editorship of the present reviewer, fulfilled a long felt need of covering the entire subject anew, even if somewhat briefly, with reproductions of good quality and suggesting a chronological sequence somewhat different from that found in the hitherto classic work on Hindu metal images, namely, the *Catalogue of the Madras Museum*,[1] by Gravely and T. N. Ramachandran. The other two publications are the volumes under consideration in the present article. Barrett confines himself to early Chola bronzes while Srinivasan's book might be termed a revised catalogue of the Madras Museum bronzes, but with the addition of many images which are not in the museum collection.

In a subject so notoriously difficult for dating as South Indian bronzes, it is not surprising that all the three writers differ from each other and often by widely separated periods of time with regard to the dates of several images. So also there are differences of opinion with regard to the chronological sequences suggested by the reviewer in his catalogue of the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Collection[2] and in his articles in *Marg*[3] on the Bhedwar and Treasurywala collections and on the Two Pallava bronzes of the Prince of Wales Museum. These differences tend to underline a caution long advocated, namely, that save in a few instances any attempt at too close a dating of South Indian metal images is a purely subjective reaction to certain stylistic features. While these may permit of a broad classification they cannot support an insufficient margin of error. Sivaramamurti adopts this cautious attitude, but both Barrett and Srinivasan attempt to date the images they have dealt with in too precise a sequence.

Barrett's book which is beautifully produced with large plates and many close-ups, deals only with the early Chola period. Every student of the subject must indeed be grateful to him for publishing such fine photographs of bronzes which were hitherto known only to a few scholars and to some officers of the Archaeological Survey and the Religious Endowments Board. For the major part they have never been reproduced or even adequately photographed due to the unco-operative attitude of temple custodians. Barrett has been careful to choose superb examples and though perforce he has had to omit quite a

1 Gravely and T. N. Ramachandran, *Catalogue of the South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Government Museum*, Madras 1932.

2 Khandalavala and Moti Chandra, *Miniatures and Sculptures from the Collection of the Late Sir Cowasji Jehangir, Bart.*, Bombay 1965, pp. 9-15.

3 Khandalavala Karl, "Masterpieces in South Indian and Nepalese Bronzes in the Collection of Mr. S. K. Bhedwar of Bombay," *Marg*, Vol. IV, 4, pp. 8-27.
Khandalavala Karl, "Two Rare Pallava Images in the Prince of Wales Museum," *Marg*, Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 28.

number of important early images from his survey he was justified in giving preference to unpublished images and certain others which though published before (often inadequately) were thought essential by him for supporting his chronological scheme. Srinivasan's book on the other hand covers the entire range of South Indian metal images and though it is a very painstaking effort the quality and size of the reproductions and the get-up and arrangement of the book leave much to be desired. Nevertheless it is undoubtedly a very useful and important publication. These three recent books will go a long way to help students of the subject to understand not only the aesthetic merits of the masterpieces reproduced therein but also to obtain a fair idea of the course of development of the art of the metal sculpture in the South despite the differences of opinion that exist amongst their authors with regard to exact sequences and dates.

Since Sivaramamurti and the present reviewer were the earliest writers to advocate the theory of Pallava images in opposition the viewpoint expressed in Gravely and Ramachandran's Madras Museum Catalogue it is but natural to find that both the author and the editor of the Lalit Kalā Akademi's publication adhere to that view. Srinivasan also adopts it but Barrett has challenged it and classifies almost every known Pallava image as early Chola of the 10th century or even on occasion later. This proposition is a revival of the old theory but nevertheless one must give the fullest consideration to any argument put forward by so "alive" a writer as Barrett. Unfortunately Barrett does not come to grips with this particular issue in all its aspects. While stating his viewpoint, he mentions a few stone sculptures as pointers. But even where some resemblances exist it must be remembered that early Chola sculpture itself is the direct outcome of later Pallava art and has adopted several of its features which thus continue through the early Chola period. To ascribe a bronze to A.D. 900 and say it is early Chola and not late Pallava is to ignore the fact that the dominant sculptural style in the South even upto *circa* A.D. 900 is the Pallava style and that the characteristic Chola sculptural style is a later development. One can however juggle with nomenclature because the reigns of the two earliest Chola rulers, Vijayālaya and Āditya I, overlap the reigns of the late Pallava rulers Nṛpatunga, Aparājita and Kampavarman. But nevertheless the sculptural style of the second half of the ninth century is to all intents and purposes the late Pallava style and the marked influence of Pallava sculpture slowly abates only after A.D. 900.

The real problem is that the metal images now generally recognised as belonging to the Pallava period and usually ascribed to A.D. 750—A.D. 900 which latter date approximates to the end of Pallava rule under Aparājita and Kampavarman, are stylistically a closely related group with features so pronouncedly similar to many Pallava stone sculptures that it is difficult to relate them to any metal images of known Chola origin. For instance, in the whole range of known early Chola metal images there are no examples which have adequate stylistic affinity to the Tripurāntaka of the original Srinivasagopalachari Collection, Madras, and now in the Sarabhai Collection, Ahmedabad; the Kuram Naṭarāja, also from the same Madras collection and now in the Madras Museum; the small Tiruvalangadu Somaskanda also in the Madras Museum; the Kilappudanur Vishāpaharaṇa of the same institution; the Singanallur Trivikrama in the Vishṇu temple there; the several small Vishṇus from Peruntottam, Trivandrum Museum, Valududaiyur, Tiruchcherai and several unknown sites or the remarkable gilt Maitreya from Melayur. Barrett would translate most of these images into the mid-tenth and second half of the tenth century.

The existence of a metal icon in a dateable temple does not necessarily mean that the date of the icon is the same or that its origin can be ascribed to that area, though the Kuram Naṭarāja may well have had its origin in the area from which it was found and which had strong Pallava associations. That images cast in one area were dedicated to a shrine in another area need not be doubted. The present writer finds it difficult to comprehend how this whole group with its marked Pallava affinities could suddenly have come into being about half a century or more after the end of Pallava rule and near about the time when the fully developed early Chola *haut école* style of the Kadri Lokeśvaras (not reproduced by Barrett); the early Konerirajapuram masterpieces;[1] the Tiruvelvikkudi Kalyāṇasundaramūrti group and the Kirātamūrti[2] from the same place; the Pallaveśvara Vṛshavāhanamūrti and Pārvatī-Skanda; the Peruntottam Devī of Naṭarāja; the Tiruchcherai Rāma-Sītā; the Tiruppurambiyam Vīṇādhara now in the Tanjore Art Gallery (not reproduced by Barrett); the Mayuram Tripurāntaka also in the Tanjore Art Gallery; the famous Vadakkuppanaiyur Rāma-Sītā now in the Madras Museum and the Tripurāntaka from Vellanur, amongst others, was all the order of the day. It is this *haut école* style patronized by Gandarāditya and Uttama Chola and the latter's deeply religiously minded mother Sembiyan Mahādevī and no doubt also by royalty in general and highly placed affluent devotees, which was responsible for setting certain standards of early Chola bronze casting. This *haut école* style was the outcome of the genius of great guild masters and the best of these guilds no doubt functioned as royal workshops. The standards set by them were not unnaturally emulated by other guilds which led to variations of stylistic features and varying degrees of success. But many such productions though not emanating from the royal workshops are indeed beautiful even if lacking the richness of the *haut école* style proper. It was from this early *haut école* style that in the course of about a quarter of a century another later *haut école* style developed which has rightly been associated by Barrett with the later Rājarāja I period extending well into the reign of Rājendra I, though Barrett apparently would not subscribe to the extension suggested by the present writer. This later *haut école* style in its turn again influenced production outside the royal workshops. During this entire period from about A.D. 950 to about A.D. 1050 there was obviously local production at many centres of the Chola country which though it evidences the idioms and mannerisms of local guilds also proclaims the influence of the *haut école* styles.

Now it is not easy to suppose that in this vast production which grew out of the *haut école* style just a handful of images, mark it all of small or medium size, all stylistically related, all displaying pronounced Pallava characteristics and found at varying sites unrelated to each other, crept in by chance into the very different and extensive normal type of Chola output—a sort of highly isolated and very rare throwback to the Pallava tradition. Nor can we assume that they were all made by only one small guild in the mid and second half of the 10th century the *sthapatis* of which ignored the entire stylistic development which was

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1 Barrett reproduces the Vṛshavāhana, Tripurāntaka, the Devī, probably Tripurāntaka's consort, and the Gaṇeśa. He does not reproduce the Devī popularly but erroneously called Mātaṅgī, of the Sarabhai collection though he refers to it and rightly regards it as belonging to this early group and not to a later Kalyāṇasundaramūrti group in the same temple an error into which Srinivasan falls. The Sarabhai Devī came from this temple though it was removed before 1937 when the reviewer visited this shrine. Whether it was the original consort of Vṛshavāhana or of some other image no longer there, we cannot say. Barrett is right in thinking that the Brahmā and Vishṇu, both in a private collection, belonged to the same temple. They passed into the hands of a Bombay dealer and went into a private collection in Poona and thence into a private collection in Bombay. There is an old photo of some of the Konerirajapuram bronzes forming a Kalyāṇasundaramūrti group and the Brahmā and Vishṇu appear therein. Both were missing in 1937.

2 Barrett reproduces this Kirātamūrti as a Tripurāntaka from the Rājagopālaswāmi Temple, Tanjore.

taking place all around them, both in sculpture and bronze casting, and set out deliberately to adopt the archaisms of the Pallava period even to the extent of the *yajñopavīta* going over the arm and an oblique twist in the middle of the median girdle loop, features seen in Pallava sculpture. Both these features are really not suitable for bronze casting and their presence can only be explained by the fact that the bronzes in which they appear were cast at a time when this form of treatment was constantly being employed in stone sculpture. The metal caster, new to his functions, merely copied the stone images. The production of metal images in the Pallava period was of a very limited order and consequently in the beginning the *sthapati* frequently sought to reproduce even the cliches which he saw in the stone sculptures irrespective of their suitability to the medium he was handling. The *yajñopavīta* falling over the arm is a very common feature of Pallava stone sculpture but rarely seen in Chola stone sculpture. The few instances in which it appears in the Chola period, emphasizes the fact that it is to all intents and purposes an exclusively Pallava characteristic. But strangely enough it is totally absent save in one instance,[1] as far as we know, in all the thousands of metal images admittedly of the Chola period, whether of the *haut école* style or provincialized versions thereof. But in this very limited group of images, stylistically related, which we ascribe to the Pallava period this feature appears about a dozen times. So also the proper oblique twist of the loop of the median girdle is not seen in Chola metal images but it does appear in at least four metal images of our small Pallava group the total number of which is microscopic in relation to the thousands of Chola bronzes which were fashioned. Even where the loop of the median girdle in our Pallava group does not have the oblique twist, the loop is invariably like the broad flat median loop of Pallava stone sculpture and never in the narrower 'U' shaped manner in which it is mostly seen in Chola bronzes. A few admittedly Chola images, however, do affect a wide median loop in the Pallava manner indicating their development from Pallava art. The abovementioned factors speak significantly against Barrett's theory ascribing almost every icon of this small Pallava group to about the mid and second half of the 10th century. But this group proclaims its Pallava affinities not only in the details mentioned above but also in modelling; the cast of countenance; in the treatment of the *jaṭāmukuṭa* or *kirīṭamukuṭa*, as the case may be; ornamentation; the garments of Maitreya and Vishṇu and the insignia held by latter. The Vishṇus bespeak unmistakably to their near descent from such figures at the Kailāsnātha temple at Kanchi whose true form is occasionally revealed where the plaster has peeled off or been removed. The Vishāpaharaṇa has its counterparts in style both at the Kailāsnātha Temple at Kanchi and in sculptures from Satyamangalam, while the Sarabhai Collection's Tripurāntaka could trace its descent to the walls of Mahabalipuram even though it is considerably later in point of time. It is more akin in treatment to Pallava sculpture of the eighth and ninth century than to the early Chola sculptures of Pullamangai to which Barrett likens it. Even the sculpture of Pullamangai is patently derived from Pallava sculpture but has begun to lose the characteristic softer and smoother modelling of the Pallava period. While the dates of Pallava metal images have given rise to occasional differences of opinion even amongst writers who recognize that they belong to the

[1] This single instance is the Tripurāntaka of the Śiva temple at Kodumudi which is patently an image of the last quarter of the tenth century. Srinivasan places it as mid tenth. Here we find that the *sthapati* who had seen a Pallava image with this feature decided to adopt the older method. Its presence in so late an image is just due to a personal idiosyncrasy of the sculptor. Neither the median loop nor any other part of the image has any Pallava features. In one Chola image a Śiva from Konerirajapuram of the last quarter of the tenth century the *yajñopavīta* goes upto the right lower arm but not over it. This again is a personal idiosyncrasy and even so not in the characteristic Pallava manner of going right over arm. Here again the image has no other Pallava feature.

Pallava period, the limits of these dates are between the mid eighth century and the date of the last great Pallava monument, namely the temple of Tiruttani built in the eighteenth year of Aparājita. This temple establishes that there was never any decay or decline in Pallava sculpture though naturally the style underwent changes during a period of almost three centuries from its commencement. It is this later Pallava style which influenced early Chola sculpture and led to the transition period school of the early Chola king Parāntaka I. Barrett seems to suggest a somewhat abrupt emergence of the early Chola sculptural style under Āditya I but this is not only against probabilities but contrary to what one sees on the shrines of Āditya I and the earliest shrines of Parāntaka I where the influence of later Pallava art is evident. Barrett's viewpoint has probably moved him to suggest that Tiruttani was perhaps the result of influence from the school of Āditya I, a most unlikely happening. Accordingly Barrett does not seem to accept even a Pallava-Chola transition period which has always been postulated by the reviewer and other writers and to which we would ascribe the work done in the reign of Parāntaka I. While the stone sculpture of this period can be seen in the shrines of Parāntaka I, what about the bronzes? Now it must be remembered that the production of metal images during the Pallava period was very limited indeed. Barely a couple of dozen bronzes definitely ascribable as Pallava images exist. This fact may well go to support the theory of some writers that all these images belong to the later Pallava period, that is the ninth century when for the first time Brahmanical images in metal came to be fashioned.[1] This theory may be correct, though one cannot be certain. The fact that these Pallava images are very few in number and of relatively small size suggests that they considerably antedate the period when the Chola fashion of the large images came into being. It would seem that during the Pallava period as well as during the reigns of Āditya I and Parāntaka I there was no marked impetus for the fashioning of metal images. Both these early Chola monarchs, like the Pallava rulers, expended all their patronage on sculptural shrines.[2] There are a few metal icons which are best ascribed as Pallava-Chola transition images and one of them is the Tripurāntaka from Kilappaluvur which Barrett ascribes to the last quarter of the tenth century though we feel it belongs to the reign of Parāntaka I. Its form, not face, provided a type which was elaborated upon by the later *sthapatis* responsible for the *haut école* style of early Chola art during the reigns of Gandarāditya and Uttama Chola. Another image which is late Pallava, namely the Naṭarāja from Nallur is nevertheless a pointer to what we might expect to find in the transition period. It must again be stressed that early Chola rule ran parallel to Pallava rule for about half a century till the end of the reigns of Aparājita and Kampavarman. Since Barrett regards the Nallur Naṭarāja as an example of the earliest known Chola style of metal images (his Phase I), dating about A.D. 900, it is difficult to see how he can avoid the conclusion that his earliest Chola style is in any event a Pallava-Chola transition style even if he is reluctant to term the Nallur Naṭarāja as Pallava, which in fact it is. Barrett dates the Nallur Naṭarāja at about A.D. 900 and regards it along with the Sarabhai Tripurāntaka as the only two images belonging to his Phase I of Early Chola Bronzes. In fact it should be at least a quarter of a century earlier. The Nallur Naṭarāja in its turn

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1 There is literary evidence to indicate that Buddhist metal images existed even in the time of the Vaishṇava warrior—saint Tirumangai Alvār who lived in the eighth century and there is inscriptional evidence with regard to a metal image fashioned in the reign of the Pallava king Dantivarman. See Desikan's article in the present issue. Moreover, the fifth and sixth century metal images of Buddha from Amaravati and Buddhapad are well known.

2 As far as we are aware there is no inscription of the time of Āditya I which makes a reference to a metal image. However there are a few inscriptions, very small in number, which do seem to refer to the dedication of metal images in the time of Parāntaka I.

is later by at least an another quarter of a century, if not more, than the Sarabhai Tripurāntaka which may therefore be ascribed to *circa* A.D. 850. Srinivasan in fact separates the two images by half a century which is not altogether unlikely on a careful analysis of stylistic features. But while Srinivasan places the Sarabhai Tripurāntaka at *circa* A.D. 850, he ascribes the Nallur Naṭarāja to the beginning of the 10th century, roughly *circa* A.D. 900, which is also the date given to it by Barrett. We, however, cannot visualize the Nallur Naṭarāja as later than *circa* A.D. 875 or as being other than a creation of the late Pallava idiom. So also the Kilakkadu Naṭarāja (not reproduced by Barrett) is a Pallava image also dateable not later than A.D. 875. The *yajñopavīta* goes on to the arm and the bottom of the median loop of the girdle has an oblique twist. After all it was the Pallava style that had influenced the entire South from A.D. 600 to A.D. 900 and it is not possible to accept a situation in which Āditya I developed a style of his own, independant of the Pallava style. This is borne out by the fact that the sculptures of the early Āditya I period shrines evidence a late Pallava style as adopted and modified by local *sthapatis*, a phenomenon one sees all over the South when Pallava glory began to fade out. It may be contended that if Barrett regards the Nallur Naṭarāja and the Sarabhai Tripurāntaka as *circa* A.D. 900 and that if the supporters of the Pallava theory regard these two images as not later than A.D. 875, then there is only a difference of about three decades between the opposing viewpoints and since late Pallava and early Chola rule overlapped, the difference of opinion is merely a matter of nomenclature. That may be one way of looking at the matter but the difficulty is that apart from these two images Barrett relegates all the remaining Pallava metal icons to almost the mid 10th century and even later. This we feel is not possible of acceptance. It emphasizes the fact that the difference of opinion between Barrett and the supporters of the Pallava theory is not a matter of mere nomenclature but a more deeply rooted one for Barrett's viewpoint involves very different concepts of stylistic development and ignores not only the origin of Brahmanical metal images in the Pallava period but also the great influence of the Pallava sculptural style on the earliest known bronzes.

Barrett having dated the Nallur Naṭarāja and the Sarabhai collection Tripurāntaka jointly to *circa* A.D. 900 as his Phase I Chola images, relegates the Kilappudanur Vishāpaharaṇa to the period A.D. 940-950 which to our mind is at least a century later than its true date. Srinivasan however more justifiably regards it to be just after *circa* A.D. 850. Barrett gives no reason for his dating beyond a reference to the stone sculptures of Punjai. But while Punjai may form a basis for comparison with a bronze image such as the seated Chaṇḍikeśvara from Tiruvenkadu there is quite a long interval of time between the Tiruvenkadu icon and the Kilappudanur Vishāpaharaṇa despite some superficial similarities. Seen side by side in the Madras Museum the stylistic differences become very evident. The Chaṇḍikeśvara is typically Chola of the third quarter of the tenth century and the Vishāpaharaṇa is typically in the Pallava style of at least a century earlier. Barrett thereafter proceeds to liken the Vishāpaharaṇa to the Tiruchcherai seated Vishṇu which he dates A.D. 940-950 and then on that basis, which appears quite arbitrary, gives a similar date to the Vishāpaharaṇa. But there is nothing in the style of the Tiruchcherai Vishṇu to warrant so late a date and the inscription, even assuming it to be contemporary, is in such a bad state that nothing can be made of it. Even assuming that the characters of the inscription can be said to be of the tenth century no one on palaeographical grounds could really venture to say that the characters used in the second half of the ninth century could not be present in an inscription of the tenth century and *vice versa*. Therefore palaeography

is a poor guide in this instance. Incidentally the Tiruchcherai image is quite a small one like most images of the Pallava group and has the same loose modelling of the torso and somewhat ovoid face which is more apparent *in situ* than in Barrett's photograph. To our way of thinking the Tiruchcherai Vishṇu is definitely a Pallava image even though it is later than the Kilappudanur Vishāpaharaṇa from which it has derived some features. They may be separated by a quarter of a century and may even both be the work of the same guild. Thus if Srinivasan's date for the Vishāpaharaṇa, namely *circa* A.D. 850, can be accepted, for it is a dating which cannot be ruled out (though Sivaramamurti and the reviewer are inclined to a somewhat earlier date) then the Tiruchcherai Vishṇu would belong to *circa* A.D. 875. To about the same period we can ascribe the remarkable Trivikarama from Singanallur. Srinivasan's dating to the beginning of the tenth century is a bit too late and Sivaramamurti's dating to the eighth century seems too early. It is a late Pallava image with characteristic oblique twist in the loop of the median girdle and other Pallava features. Barrett's dating of A.D. 940 seems to be quite off the mark being dictated by his belief that there are no Pallava images. How close is the treatment of the face and *mukuṭa* of the Tiruchcherai Vishṇu to that of the *dvārapālas* at Narttanmalai of the period of the Pallava ruler Nṛpatunga.

In between the Pallava group and *circa* A.D. 950 there are several images which may best be described as belonging to the Pallava-Chola transition period. A characteristic transition image is the Pallava type Vishṇu from Kodumudi which Barrett dates to A.D. 940 but which could not be later than the first quarter of the tenth century. If one compares the group of small Pallava Vishṇus with the Kodumudi icon which is a fairly large image, it is apparent that the small Vishṇus are earlier by at least half a century or more. Again if one compares these small Pallava Vishṇus with the well-known Vishṇu from Paruttiyur (where a famous Rāma group is also to be seen) it is quite evident that there is a very long interval of time between the Pallava Vishṇus and the Paruttiyur icon which is characteristically early Chola with no Pallava features whatsoever. The position of the discus, as pointed out long ago by the present writer, does not help in fixing the date of a Vishṇu icon save that when it stands edge on to the spectator, as in the Paruttiyur Vishṇu, it indicates an early image, which may either be early Chola or Pallava. Barrett's date of the Paruttiyur Vishṇu, namely *circa* A.D. 975 is more acceptable to us than Srinivasan's date of the mid-tenth century.

There are several other images which we can ascribe to the transition period such as the Naṭarāja now in the Bank of Italy rightly dated by Srinivasan to *circa* A.D. 900. It is definitely later than the Nallur Naṭarāja. So also the rather small seated Śiva, perhaps from a Somaskanda group, in the Tanjore Art Gallery belongs to the first quarter of the tenth century. Srinivasan ascribes it to *circa* A.D. 875 which seems too early a date. Again the Śiva and the Arjuna of the Kirātamūrti group at Tiruvetkalam are also transition images belonging to the first quarter of the 10th century though ascribed by Srinivasan to the last quarter of the ninth century. Barrett ascribes them to A.D. 950-960 but this would bring them into the period of the Chola *haute école* style and they are definitely earlier. The Arjuna has certain Pallava characteristics. Again there is the Kāliya Krishṇa of the Shastri Collection, Madras, which Srinivasan rightly ascribes to the beginning of the second quarter of the tenth century. Amongst other transition period images is the small Lokeśvara from Nagapattinam which can be dated a little later than *circa* A.D. 900 as correctly suggested by Sri-

[1] Khandalavala, Karl, "Two Rare Pallava Images in the Prince of Wales Museum," *Marg.*, Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 28.

nivasan. The Naṭarāja from Kodumudi belongs to the end of the transition period and can be dated *circa* A.D. 950 as suggested by Srinivasan. It may however even be a little earlier, namely the third or fourth decade of the tenth century. Barrett suggests the third quarter of the tenth century which seems too late. Though Barrett regards the *prabhā* of the Kodumudi Naṭarāja as original we regard it as a replacement. The necklace is rather similar to that of the Nallur Naṭarāja as also the *jaṭāmukuṭa*. The stance in *chatura tāṇḍava* is also derived from the Nallur image but is somewhat different in appearance because of the absence of the Apasmāra *purusha*. The placement of hands is also somewhat similar and the fire is in a cup. The median loop of the girdle is small like that of the Naṭarāja in the Bank of Italy but open as in the Kuram Naṭarāja. It is a provincial type but the derivation is clearly from the Pallava-Chola transition style. The face is Chola not Pallava. The image, however, following the Pallava tradition is small. Others in the transition category are the Subrahmaṇya at Kilaiyur dated by Barrett as A.D. 950 and by Srinivasan more correctly as first quarter of the tenth century. With regard to the image of the same deity from Tandantottam Srinivasan again correctly suggests a date in the second quarter of the tenth century. The Tiruvarangulam Naṭarāja, now in the National Museum, New Delhi, is also a transition image and must at latest belong to the second quarter of the tenth century. Neither Barrett's date of the end of the tenth century nor Srinivasan's date of *circa* A.D. 975 is acceptable. The Anaikkudi Naṭarāja ascribed by Srinivasan to a little later than A.D. 900 is in the transition style and not later than the first quarter of the tenth century. The Okkur Naṭarāja is also a provincial transition image late in the second quarter of the tenth century. Srinivasan assigns it about A.D. 950. The activity in bronze casting during the period A.D. 900-950 was spread over a fairly extensive area even if the output was not very large. The Pallava metal images had initiated the fashion and it slowly became popular all over the South.

After about A.D. 950 we begin to see a change. The *haute école* style of early Chola bronzes comes to the forefront. It must have taken about two decades to develop the style of the Kadri Lokeśvaras and thus some of the earlier looking images of this *haute école* style may well be ascribed to the period A.D. 950-960, as Barrett has done. Before we proceed to Barrett's Phase III, it must be observed that Barrett's Phase I and II are not easy of acceptance because of his radically different viewpoint with regard to what we call the Pallava group. The result is that there appears to be a lack of stylistic cohesion in these groups. But if our group of Pallava images is excluded from Barrett's Phases I and II, then with regard to the remaining images the differences between Barrett, Srinivasan, Sivaramamurti and the present writer with regard to dating are largely narrowed down to a few decades here or there. As stated before, any attempt at close dating becomes a matter of one's personal reaction to stylistic features and thus the human element in such a process is often a variable factor. However, an attempt at close dating at least enables one scholar to understand the reactions of style on another scholar and re-adjust his own viewpoint if he is persuaded to do so. Mutual criticisms are never meant to detract but only to clear ground for further investigation because no one can pretend to certainty in such a disputed matter where the available data for firm conclusions is all too meagre and mainly based on stylistic considerations. But stylistic cohesion undoubtedly exists in Barrett's Phase III. His classification, into three Phases by numbers, strikes us as cold and the descriptive method based on historical sequences seems easier to comprehend. We would suggest the following sequence to cover the main purport of Barrett's treatise:

(a) Pallava bronzes A.D. 750-900 with an emphasis by some writers on the 9th century.

(b) Pallava-Chola Transition Period approximately A.D. 900 to 950 which is mainly the period of Parāntaka I.

(c) The early Chola style proper from about A.D. 950 to A.D. 1050 divided into an earlier period from about A.D. 950 to A.D. 1000 which includes the reigns of Gandarāditya, Uttama Chola and part of the reign of Rāja Rāja, and a later period from about A.D. 1000 to A.D. 1050 which includes the latter part of the reign of Rāja Rāja and the reign of Rājendra I.

These periods are applicable to bronzes all over South India whether made in the Chola, Chera or Pāṇḍya country. The Pallava influence was dominant till about A.D. 900 and thereafter the Chola influence became dominant. All regional styles throughout the South were affected by these two great art epochs. Hence we need not, for the purpose of a broad classification, trouble ourselves with Pāṇḍyan, Chera, Ganga, Nolamba and other styles of which we still do not know enough. They all derived from Pallava or Chola art, the two main streams of aesthetic achievement in the South.

We may also observe that many features to which we give some importance for the purpose of stylistic analysis, if taken singly, can be very uncertain guides to dating. Thus the hair at the back of Vaishṇava images, not being *jaṭās*, will differ from the treatment of hair in many Śaiva images where long strands of hair are depicted. This has to be borne in mind. Even the style of the locks in Śaiva images is no guide nor is the device of the locks being ringed by the necklace. This device can appear even in early images. Again the type of necklaces, the presence or absence of the pipal leaf ornament at the back, the shape and treatment of the *mukuṭa*, the form of the *prabhā* and its flames, the shape of the *śiraśchakra*, the size of the knob on Vishṇu's *kirīṭamukuṭa*, the pattern of armlets, the presence or absence of the *kīrtimukha* device buckle on the waist girdle (it is found as early as the Kailāsanātha temple, Kanchi), the shape and treatment of side bows, the shape of pedestals, and the position and shape of weapons carried in the hands including Vishṇu's *chakra* at most can give only a very approximate idea for dating, if not considered in proper combination and in conjunction with the modelling, countenance and plastic treatment of an image. The absence or presence of a particular feature is often no more than a particular *sthapati's* attitude towards details. None of these features by themselves if examined emperically yield any certain results, though they have their uses. Only two features seem to be constant in their application to the problem of dating South Indian bronzes. The presence of the *yajñopavīta* over the arm has proved, with only one exception, to be an invariable indication that the image is Pallava. Such images where it appears always have marked Pallava characteristics. The other feature is the presence of a marked oblique twist in the loop of the median girdle.[1] Though rare, nevertheless on the few occasions when it appears we find the same thing, namely that such images have marked Pallava characteristics. There are two more features pertaining to ornamentation whose presence gives a broad indication of period. It has been observed that the method of tying the end strings of the upper armlet into a bow is only seen in Pallava and early Chola images upto about A.D. 1000 at the most. Sometimes this bow takes the shape seen on the armlet of the Tripurāntaka of the Sarabhai Collection with double ends and sometimes it looks rather like a split-pin with knob as seen in the Konerirajapuram *Devī* of the same collection. The second feature consists of a fan-shaped ornament

[1] It is also derived from the Pallava period stone sculpture.

usually projecting from the lower armlet. Actually it is meant to be the tassel at the end of the armlet strings. It is first seen in stone sculpture at the Nageśvarasvāmi Temple at Kumbakonam which is a shrine of the time of Āditya I. This fan-shaped projection is never seen beyond the Chola period but in the Chola period itself neither its shape nor size can be conclusive for accurate dating. It often becomes a mere knob. Barrett's argument with regard to his Phase III images appears to us with a very few exceptions to be wholly valid. He places the earlier Konerirajapuram group to about A.D. 969-977 by assuming that the Vṛshavāhana, Tripurāntaka, the Devī still there, the Devī of the Sarabhai Collection and the Gaṇeśa are all dedications of the time of Sembiyan Mahādevī herself who was the builder of the temple and that the inscription thereon of A.D. 977 prescribing worship for Tripurāntaka, Vṛshavāhana and Gaṇpati, has reference to the splendid metal images of these deities which are to be found in the temple. Even if this line of argument were not considered to be conclusive, though we personally regard it as sound, there is dated material which definitely enables a date round about A.D. 965 to A.D. 975 to be ascribed to the earlier Konerirajapuram group and all related images. Barrett makes no reference to this evidence and probably it was unknown to him at the time he wrote his book. Not so long ago when the bronzes of the Manjumaṭha temple at Kadri, Mangalore, were photographed for the first time, one of the two seated Lokeśvaras was found to have an inscription giving the date of its installation, namely A.D. 968. Now there can be no doubt whatever that in the Kadri Lokeśvaras we have the style of the earlier Konerirajapuram bronzes as well as that of several others which can be related to them. Therefore, Barrett's dating of the earlier Konerirajapuram group can be supported by the dated Kadri Lokeśvara. The date of the making of the Kadri Lokeśvaras could at most be removed a year or two from the date of the installation. Hence we have a dated prototype for the style of A.D. 965 to A.D. 970 and thereabouts. Working on this basis we are in agreement with most of Barrett's dating during the period A.D. 960 to A.D. 1010. In that year we again have the now famous and superb Tiruvenkadu Vṛshavāhana and Devī as a firm stylistic landmark, followed closely by the Kalyāṇasundaramūrti group of the same temple. Frankly speaking, but for the inscriptional evidence the Vṛshavāhana would have been dated by us to the period *circa* A.D. 975-1000. It illustrates what has often been stressed, namely the need for a wider margin of error in dating South Indian metal images than has been allowed by Barrett or Srinivasan. Thereafter there is another dated landmark, namely the Tiruvenkadu Bhikshāṭana of A.D. 1048. Here again but for the date there is no reason not to ascribe the image to the Rāja Rāja period of *circa* A.D. 1010-1020. Before proceeding we may observe that Srinivasan's dating of images related to the Konerirajapuram group such as the Tripurāntaka from Mayuram and the Kalyāṇsundaramūrti from Tiruvelvikudi, as also the Sarabhai Collection Devī from the Konerirajapuram temple itself to the second and third decade of the 11th century is obviously incorrect and Barrett's dating is to be preferred. To accept Srinivasan's dating would be to confuse the early *haut école* Chola school (extending over the period of Gandarāditya, Uttama Chola and the early Rāja Rāja period) with the later *haute école* school. The images which Barrett relates to the Konerirajapuram group in point of date do for the most part proclaim their close affinities therewith stylistically speaking. Some may be a little before, some may be a little after the dates suggested but the approximate period of the second half of the tenth century seems unexceptionable and we are also inclined to accept Barrett's sequences in this group. It is in the establishment of the period of this early group, using the Koneriraja-

puram early images as a pivot for the purpose, that Barrett has done excellent work and his conclusions are now further justified by the dated Kadri Lokeśvara. So also using the inscriptional evidence of the Tiruvenkadu images as a focal point, he has correctly co-related the later Rāja Rāja style to the undated images of that period. We might here draw attention to a fact of considerable significance for the further elucidation of this later Rāja Rāja period. The wellknown image of the Chola king in the Sarabhai Collection which the present writer had formerly assigned to the twelfth century revival under Kulottunga III, the builder of the Tribhuvaneśvara shrine, is the original image of Rāja Rāja himself which was in the great Rājarājeśvara temple of Tanjore and no doubt contemporary with the inauguration of the temple itself. Though we cannot adduce the necessary evidence, there is little doubt that this statement is correct. Srinivasan dates it to second quarter of the twelfth century but that view now requires revision. Incidentally, we do not have any doubts about the period of the large Naṭarāja of the Naṭarāja shrine at the Great Temple, Tanjore, and are in agreement with Srinivasan's date of A.D. 1010 and would certainly use this image as another focal point for the dating of Naṭarāja bronzes. There is agreement amongst all critics, we believe, that the Tripurāntaka of the Great Temple, now in the Tanjore Art Gallery, is to be dated in the second decade of the eleventh century and is a dedication of Rāja Rāja's reign. It also provides a focal point for dating early Chola bronzes. One image with regard to which we find it difficult to accept Barrett's early date is the Devī from Kuttalam. So also we are inclined to date the Bhikshāṭana from Tirukkaravasal closer to the image of this very deity from Tiruvenkadu whose date of A.D. 1048, suggested by Ramachandran on inscriptional evidence, is quite convincing. However, Barrett's earlier dating of Bhikshāṭana may be correct and if so this illustrates how stylistic similarities can be separated by even half a century. The Tiruvenkadu Bhikshāṭana as well as the magnificent Murugan of the Gangakondaicholapuram temple go to suggest that the later Rāja Rāja style of bronzes of the early eleventh century A.D. continued, in the main, well into the period of his successor Rājendra I. This is also evident from a comparison of the stone sculptures of the Great Temple, Tanjore, and those of Rājendra's mighty fane at Gangakondaicholapuram. Of course, normal variations there will always be occasioned by the differences that must exist even between contemporary guilds of *sthapatis*. This is a factor which we must never overlook in any stylistic analysis.

We might in passing observe that it would be more appropriate to date the Tirukkaravasal Vṛshavāhana and consort to the last quarter of the 10th century rather than definitely suggest *circa* A.D. 1000 which may be too late for these grand images. Some printing errors have taken place in Barrett's book with regard to the Melaperumpallam Naṭarāja where the date A.D. 900 is given under the caption to the plate and second half of the eleventh century in the Description of Plates. What exactly Barrett intended is, however, found in the text where he suggests the image belongs to the second half of the eleventh century which we feel is too late a date. We would put it early in the second quarter of the eleventh century.

Srinivasan naturally has to deal with a much wider range of images than Barrett and goes into minutae of style in great detail which is on occasion interesting but leads to no firm conclusions. Often the method can be misleading. While we find ourselves in disagreement with his views on the dates of several images his appraisal of the Pallava group is well carried out on the whole and so also of most of the transition period images which he reproduces. We would, however, place the Poruppumettuppatti Naṭarāja with

reversed action, a Pāṇḍyan feature, to the early eleventh century as Sivaramamurti has done and not to the beginning of the tenth century. About the genuineness of the image (acquired from a treasure trove) we have absolutely no doubt. The Belur Vīṇādhara; the Freer Gallery Devī; the Tiruppurambiyam Viṇādhara; the Tandantottam Viṇādhara, Vṛshavāhana and Naṭarāja; the Tiruvelvikkudi Kirātamūrti; the Devī of the Metropolitan Museum; the Tiruvenkadu Chaṇḍīkeśvara; the Sivapuram Naṭarāja and Somaskanda and the Sorakkudi Somaskanda—all appear to us to belong to Barrett's group of the last quarter of the tenth century and not to the first or second quarter of the tenth century as suggested by Srinivasan. We prefer Barrett's dating of the Tirunamanallur Bhikshāṭana, namely *circa* A.D. 1020 to the date round about A.D. 975 suggested by Srinivasan. He dates the Velankanni Naṭarāja to the late tenth century while Barrett ascribes it to the first two decades of the 11th century. Perhaps *circa* A.D. 1000 is its real period. It is not possible in the present article to deal with all the images to which Srinivasan has ascribed dates. But we may mention just a few more. We agree with his dating of the great Tiruvalangadu Naṭarāja to about the mid-eleventh century. The period of the famous Solamā devī portrait bronze is, of course, available from the inscription thereon as belonging to the reign of Rājendra I and probably very early in his reign. We would be greatly interested to know how this bronze would have been dated if it had borne no inscription! Speaking for ourselves, we would have dated it at the latest to the first decade of the eleventh century, if not even a little earlier. With regard to one group we feel that Srinivasan is very wide off the mark. The Chimakurti Veṇugopāla and consorts is dated by him A.D. 1600. Both Sivaramamurti and the present writer regard it as Eastern Chalukyan. It is not later than the fourteenth century though Sivaramamurti puts it in the eleventh century which seems too early. The Tirumangai Ālvar from Srinivasanallur in the Madras Museum is late Chola and not mid-sixteenth century. It is a fine image but unfortunately has not received the attention it deserves.

One matter which is essential to bear in mind in any discussion of the chronology of South Indian bronzes is that the established date of a temple is no guide to the date of a metal image found therein. Much earlier images as well as much later images can find their place therein. But if there is inscriptional evidence in a temple which one can reasonably relate to a metal image therein, it can afford fairly reliable evidence of its date. With regard to stone sculpture the position is largely different though one has always to remember that *devakoshṭa* images may not be co-eval with the date of the construction of the shrine but of a somewhat later date and in quite a number of cases they are replacements of the originals.

Barrett, Srinivasan and Sivaramamurti have all made contributions of inestimable value towards the elucidation of the problems relating to the chronology of South Indian metal images and in bringing many little known images to light. Barrett's book in particular is a magnificent production with a very stimulating text even if we may differ with some of his suggestions. These three books have given a new impetus to the study of South Indian bronzes.

AN AGREEMENT SIGNED BY BALWANT SINGH

Vishva Chander Ohri

An agreement in Takri bearing the signatures of Balwant Singh, the famous patron of Pahārī painting, was recently acquired by the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba. Very little is known about this prince and any further information relating to him will be helpful in advancing our knowledge of the history of Pahārī painting. The agreement reads as under:

"श्री. लछमी नारायण जी सहाई

लिखीतं श्री. राजा रणजीत दे श्री. बलवंत सिंह श्री. अजीत पाल श्री राजे उमेद सिंहे की श्री नवाब साहिबे पठयार बखशा या तिहां ही असे भी दित्ता जिहां चम्बे दी जिमीं तिहां पठयार उस उप्पर जो . . . . हाकम की कटोच उठालणा ता असे बिच होणा । श्री. राजै उमीद सिंहे की पठयार कायम रखणा एह धर्म लिखी दित्ता संमत २८ चैत्र प्र. २१

लिखीतं रणजीत दे पठयारे दे कमें (कम्मे) बिच राजे कने
रहणा उप्पर लिखा से परमाणे
लिखीतं बलवंत सिंह पठयारे दे कमे (कम्मे) बिच राजे कने
रहणा उप्पर लिखया से परमाण
लिखीतं अजीत पाल पठयारे दे कमे (कम्मे) बिच श्री राजे कने
रहण उप्परका लिखा परमाण

Literal translation

"May the holy lord of Lakshmī help (us)
Written by Śrī Rājā Ranjit Dev, Śrī Balwant Singh, Śrī Ajit Pāl. As Śrī Nawāb Sahib had endowed Pathyar to Śrī Rājā Umed Singh similarly we too grant it. As is the land of Chamba (for Rājā Umed Singh) so is Pathyar. If the Katoch disown the (rightful) occupant we will come in (for aid). Territorial integrity of Pathyar is to be maintained for Rājā Umed Singh. This accord is given in writing. (Written on) Samvat 28 Chet dated 21.

Signed by Ranjit Dev, to stand by Rājā (Umed Singh) on the issue of Pathyar. Above written (agreement) is accepted.

Signed by Balwant Singh, to stand by Rājā (Umed Singh) on the issue of Pathyar. Above written (agreement) is signed by Ajit Pāl, to stand by Rājā (Umed Singh) on the issue of Pathyar. Above written (agreement) is accepted."

Pathyar, now in Kangra District, was given as an estate (*jāgīr*) to Rājā Dalel Singh (1735-48) of Chamba by the Mughals. Once the Katochs had annexed it but it was restored to the Chamba *rājā.* This estate was bestowed by the Mughal Governor on Rājā Umed Singh, the successor of Dalel Singh. Rājā Ranjit Dev (1735-81) of Jammu, Balwant Singh and Ajit Pāl in the abovementioned agreement have given accord to the grant of the *jāgīr* and have guaranteed its possession against the Katochs. In 1752 the Panjab was ceded to the Durani King of Kabul and Rājā Ranjit Dev held an important position under the Duranis. Another *sanad* from the Duranis in the Museum collection mentions that the estate of Pathyar

is endowed to Rājā Umed Singh on the recommendation of Rājā Ranjit Dev. Numerous letters and agreements in the museum collection confirm that influential *vazīrs* (mostly brothers or sons of the ruling *rājās*) were signing such documents along with the *rājās* themselves while there also exist letters which have been addressed jointly to a *rājā* and his *vazīr* soliciting alliance. It was usual for the office of the *vazīr* to be held by a brother of the ruling *rājā*. Ranjit Dev soon after his accession to the throne of Jammu was imprisoned by the Mughals for twelve years and in his absence his brother Ghansar Dev with the aid of another brother Surat Singh, administered the state. Balwant Singh was young then. It is probable that these two brothers Ghansar Dev and Surat Singh could not reconcile themselves to a subordinate position when Ranjit Dev returned and later on withdrew to their own *jāgīrs*. If not immediately on the return of Ranjit Dev at least a few years thereafter it seems that the youngest brother Balwant Singh was made the prime minister of Jammu. His signing the agreement of 21st Chet Samvat 28 (i.e. 3rd April 1753) indicates he was then next in importance to the *rājā* himself. Balwant Singh was also known as Balwant Dev and both these names are interchangeably used in the inscriptions on his portraits. He himself, however, on this document has signed as Balwant Singh. The third signatory on the agreement is Ajit Pāl who is certainly the Rājā of Basohli which State by the middle of the 18th century had become more and more dependent on Jammu. This circumstance accounts for the fact that the title of *rājā* is not used with his name.

The position held by Balwant Singh no doubt required his presence and residence in Jammu. Thus we can regard it as established that a painter Nain Sukh worked at Jammu. Formerly it was not certain whether this artist lived at Jammu or not, though it was known that he was in Balwant Singh's employ.

A study of certain historical facts of the subject matter of Balwant Singh's paintings and of the inscriptions recorded on them would go to suggest that Balwant Singh probably lived at Jasrota for a few years in his youth. This, however, cannot definitely be proved. After this he was at Jammu for some years which fact is evidenced by the agreement mentioned above. During the last years of his life he lived in Saruinsar, and it is a well-known fact that he was the founder of the branch of the family that shifted from Jammu to Saruinsar. A painting by Nain Sukh painted in A.D. 1748 at Jasrota shows this prince listening to music. Had this painting been done during a temporary sojourn of Balwant Singh at Jasrota then the presence of his host at the music party would surely be expected. The absence of any prince of Jasrota in the painting suggests that Balwant Singh lived at Jasrota for a few years and had his own private establishment there. Unfortunately nothing is definite and we do not possess any information about the relations between the royal families of Jammu and Jasrota. The building shown in the painting done at Jasrota A.D. 1748 is less imposing than those in other paintings in which the prince seems to be of middle age. I assign these later paintings to the period when he was staying at Jammu and held the important position of prime minister.

The study of the Balwant Singh group of paintings of the last phase portray him sitting under a temporary shed. In two of these paintings the shed shown is the same tending to confirm that he was then residing outside Jammu. In one of these paintings the name of the place appears in the inscription as Jaunta. This place was within his own estate. Perhaps he did not like this place and, therefore, selected Saruinsar for his permanent residence. A *jāgīr*[1] was bestowed on Balwant Singh and it seems that Saruinsar which

[1] A *jāgīr* of the value of rupees 40,000 was given to Balwant Singh. It was vast in area and Jaunta which is at a distance of only 10 miles from Saruinsar must have been within his *jāgīr*. The *jāgīr* was later on reduced to 5,000 rupees only.

became the headquarters of his estate was built up by him. He did not live at Saruinsar before the last few years of his life. Another painting which depicts the prince inspecting a work under construction was most probably painted at Saruinsar.

Jammu was frequently attacked and plundered by Sikh Sardars and moreover Brijrāj Dev, the son of Rājā Ranjit Dev, was very ambitious and even quarrelled with his father for the throne. This state of affairs may have been the cause for Balwant Singh quitting Jammu.

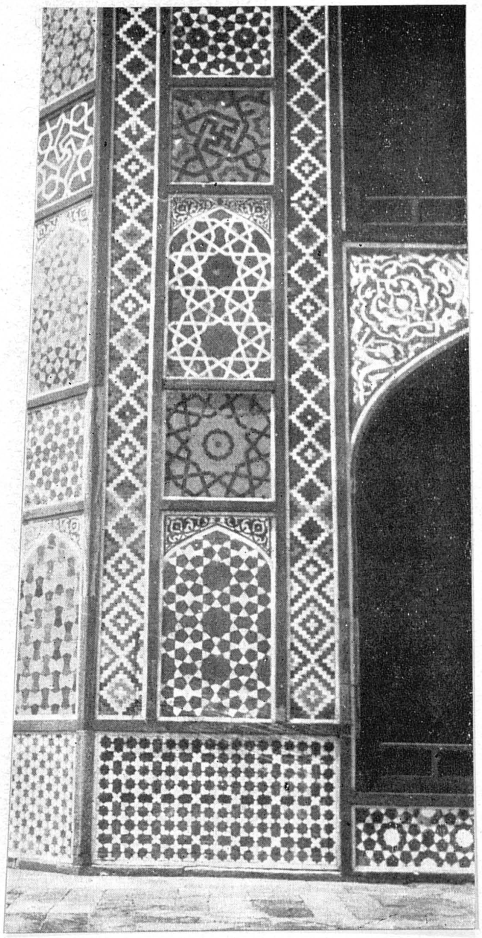
The Balwant Singh group of paintings[1] clearly show that Nain Sukh remained with him throughout. On account of these migrations and the fact that Saruinsar was a very small place, the impact of Nain Sukh's style on Jammu painting was not as prominent as that of the other artist members of his family or Guler painting. Jammu painting for long could not disassociate itself from certain idioms of Basohli painting.

[1] Paintings of Balwant Singh are published in *Bulletin No. 2 of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Bombay, in an article by Karl Khandalavala entitled "Balwant Singh a Patron of Pahārī Painting" and also in the same writer's treatise *Pahārī Miniature Painting*, Bombay 1958.

INLAY SPECIMENS AT AKBAR'S TOMB, SIKANDRA

R. Nath

Mughal inlay is generally, but erroneously, known by the Italian nomenclature *pietra dura* and is said to have been introduced by Augustin of Bordeaux during the early reign of Shāh Jahān. The theory is based on the 19th century European bias of which unfortunately the early scholars like James Fergusson and V. A. Smith suffered. As a matter of fact, the art developed indigenously under the formative rule of the Mughals and the succeeding stages of its development from the very beginning may be systematically traced. We have the earliest examples of inlaying with rare stones at Mandu at the Mausoleum in the Ashrafi Mahal and also at the Tower of Victory, both constructed during the first half of the 15th century. Inlay in the Chaumukhi Jain Temple at Ranpur (Sadri) constructed during the reign of Mahārāṇā Kumbhā (A.D. 1433-68) is, however, more pronounced. Here mosaics of cornelian and agate have been used for inlaying.[1] Marble was available in the nearby regions and there is no wonder if the artisans, inspired by the mosaics in glazed-tiles which had now been well introduced into India, indigenously devised the mosaic in stone. Marble, to be perfectly presented, requires adequate plain surface and it thus discourages profuse carving, which was the traditional art of the native workmen. It might have led them to take recourse to the mosaic of coloured and rare stones on a marble background for architectural decor. These 15th century examples of inlay disprove the theory that the art was introduced into India in the 17th century.



Inlay work in Akbar's Tomb

The architectural decoration executed with the help of coloured stones at the Qilā-i-Kuhna mosque in the Old Fort at Delhi[2] constructed by Sher Shāh Sur around 1542, at the Tomb of Humāyūn[3] begun by his wife Hājī Begum in 1565, at the Tomb of Atgah Khān[4] at Delhi also constructed at the

[1] Tod, James, *Annals and Antiques of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, London 1920, p. 337, ftn. 1. Tod observed, "This temple is an additional proof of the early existence of the art of inlaying."
Sarda, Harbilas, *Maharana Kumbha*, Ajmer 1917, pp. 85-86;
Cousens, Henry, *Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Report 1907-8, pp. 205-12.

[2] Beglar, J.D., *Archaeological Survey of India*, Report for the year 1871-72, Vol. IV, Calcutta 1874, p. 74;
Brown, P., *Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period) Bombay 1942, p. 93.

[3] Cunningham, A., *Archaeological Survey of India*, Report 1862-65, Vol. I, Simla 1871, p. 223.

[4] Zafar Hasan, Maulvi, *Archaeological Survey of India*, Memoir No. 10 (A Guide to Nizamuddin) Calcutta 1922, p. 31; Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Islamic Period), p. 98.

same time, at the Jami Masjid[1] and several other 16th century palaces at Fatehpur Sikri is technically inlay. In all these monuments we come across both types of mosaics—the tessellated and the inlaid. In the tessellated style, the square or rectangular pieces of stones of different colours were assembled and arranged together so as to form a pattern. These pieces could be set together systematically on a plaster surface or on a stone slab background whose four edges would be used to border the mosaic pattern. The other was the inlaid style under which the very thin pieces of rare or semi-precious stones were laid in the sockets specially prepared in a red sandstone or marble slab. The pattern was thus prepared by inlaying.

Mosaic work at the Tomb of Akbar at Sikandra near Agra, constructed by his son Jehāngīr between A.D. 1605 and 1612 is chiefly distributed on the southern gateway, the western and eastern false gateways and central archway on each side of the main building. It marks the stage when the artist enriched by past experience could employ the technique for a superb and magnificent presentation of the building. Here on the one hand we come across the simplest use of different coloured stones, i.e. white marble and red sandstone for varied effect, e.g. on the eastern and western sides of the southern gateway and the northern and southern sides of the western and eastern false gateways. The south and north exterior of the southern gateway has been covered with the tessellated mosaic, chiefly in geometrical designs, in red, yellow, white, black and green stones. The embellishment is as profuse as is the mosaic of glazed-tiles at Chini-kā-Rauza which also covers the whole exterior. Spandrels of the arches have beautiful arabesque patterns made up of white and black marbles, white marble and stone or in some case, white and green marbles. It harmonizes well with the neighbouring panels with tessellated mosaic or painted half soffits of the portals.

Here in this tomb we come across, on the other hand, specimens of a highly sophisticated style of inlay in the perfectly developed condition. These are three marble dados which have survived in the second storey hall of the western false gateway. They have so far been overlooked by the scholars because of their position in a most unfrequented place. Each white marble dado is outlined within black marble linings to present it dominantly on a wall of red sandstone. The white marble slab is quite plain except on the border which has been inlaid in beautiful conventionized floral patterns. Black marble and abri stones of chocolate-grey-yellowish colour have been used for inlaying. The eight-pointed star deserves particular attention. It has first been inlaid with an eight-pointed abri piece each interior point of which has a small hole, which had most probably been inlaid with some precious stone. Within it, another eight-pointed star of white marble is inlaid which is again inlaid with an eight-pointed star of black marble. Inside this black piece, as it appears, some other precious circular stone of brilliant red was used to give the whole pattern a charming appearance. The technique is as complicated as it is at the Tomb of Itmad-ud-Daulāh or even at the Taj Mahal. Its execution between A.D. 1605 and 1612 confirms that inlay art had reached a stage of excellence even in the early reign of Jehāngīr and it is incorrect to attribute its introduction to Austin (or Augustin) of Bordeaux. All dado panels in the second storeys of all the gateways had such inlaid slabs, out of which, unfortunately, only three have survived.

[1] Smith, E.W., *The Moghul Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri*, Part IV, Allahabad 1898, p. 21.

DADAPURAM

ŚRĪ KARI-VARADA PERUMĀL TEMPLE

(Kundavai-Viṉṉagar Ālvar Temple)

S. R. Balasubrahmanyam

About a mile to the South West of the Śiva temple of Śrī Maṇikanteśvarar lies the Vishṇu temple of Śrī Kari-varada Permuāl, Vishṇu the bestower of grace on Gajendra. From the evidence of the inscriptions on this temple and those of the Maṇikanteśvarar Śiva temple at Dadapuram, this can be identified as that of Kundavai Viṇṇagar. (Pl. XIII, Figs. 1 to 4).

There are nine inscriptions on the walls of the temple—the name of the king in one of them (16 of 1929) is lost. There are four inscriptions (21, 23, 24 and 25 of Rājarāja I and two of Rājendra I (4th year and 11th year); one of Kulottunga I) (13 of 1919) and one of the 5th year of Rājendra (II ? 15 of 1919). The earliest of them (21st regnal year of Rājarāja I) gives a list of vessels and ornaments made of gold, silver and pearls presented to the temples of Kundavai Viṇṇagar (the temple Śrī Kari-varada Perumāl under study), Ravikula Māṇikka Iśvarar and Kundavai Jinālaya (now no longer in existence) built by princess Parāntakan Kundavai Pirāṭṭiyār the daughter of Ponmaligai-Tunjunadeva in the city of Rājarājapuram in Nallur nadu, a sub-division of Venkunrakkotam. It mentions an officer called Parākrama Śola Mūvenda velar. This year may be taken as that of the completion of this stone temple (A.D. 1006).

Of the two inscriptions of the 23rd regnal year of Rājarāja I, one mentions a gift of 90 sheep for a lamp by a maid-servant of the king; the other records that the dancing girls attached both to the temple of Iravikula Māṇikka Iśvaram (Śrī Māṇikeśvarar at Dadapuram) and of Kundavai-Viṇṇagar Ālvar should accompany the god in procession and sing and dance during the hunting festival. Singing and dancing played a very vital and intimate part in the social life of the people of the days the Pallavas and the Cholas in general and of those of Rājarāja I in particular. We have merely to recall among the magnificent gifts made by Rājarāja I to the Rājarājeśvaram temple at Tanjavur, the provision made for:

(a) musicians who beat the drum at the festival days of Rājarājeśvrar and Āḍavallār (South Indian Inscriptions II, Part II—No. 25) in the temple at Tanjavur;

(b) 48 persons to recite (Viṇṇappam Śeyya) Tiruppādiyyam (Devāram hymns) and two persons to accompany them on drums (Uḍukkai and Koṭṭimattalam) (South Indian Inscriptions II, Part III—No. 65);

(c) 400 dancing girls (taḷichcheri-pendugal) who were transferred from other temples all over the vast Chola empire and settled in streets round the temple. Each of them was granted a house and one *veli* of land with an assured annual income of 100 *Kalams* of paddy. Among the grants made to the temple are mentioned those for dancing masters (nattuvan), musicians (Gaṇapati and Gandharvas, male and female), one playing on a pipe (vangiyan), one beating a small drum (Udukkai), two persons playing on the *vīṇā* (the lute), persons to sing the *Āryam* and *Tamil*, one beating the big drum (Kottimathalam), one blowing the conch (Muttirai sangur) in addition to accountants, parasol bearers, watchmen, lamp-

lighters, watermen, potters, washermen, barbers, astrologers, tailors, braziers, carpenters, and goldsmiths (South Indian Inscriptions II, Part III—No. 66).

An inscription of the 25th regnal year of Rājarāja I mentions a gift of sheep for a lamp to the temple of Kundavai Viṇṇagar Ālvar by princess Parāntakan Kundavai Pirāṭṭiyār. Incidentally the inscription states that Sénāpati Mummaḍi Śola Brahmamāṛāyan was in charge of the management of this temple. It may be recalled that this royal officer is the same as Śrī Krishna Raman *alias* Mummaḍi Śola Brahmamaṛayan, the *sénāpati* and a *Perundaram* of Rājarāja I, who was a native of Amankudi *alias* Keralantakā Chaturvedimanglam in Vanādu, a part of Uyyakkundan Valanādu a sub-division of Śola mandalam and who, it is stated at the order of Rājarāja I, built the walls of enclosure of the Rājarājeśvaram temple at Tanjavur (See South Indian Inscriptions II, Part III—Nos. 31, 33, 39 and 45.) It is significant that such a loyal, trusted and religious-minded minister of Rājarāja I was placed in charge of the temple; and it reflects the care of the king and his sister for this temple and the importance they attached to it.

There are two inscriptions of Rājendra I, the son and successor of Rājarāja I. The first of the fourth regnal year relates to a gift of sheep for ten lamps to the temple of Kundavai Viṇṇagar Ālvar by Kundavai Pirāṭṭiyār herself. The other of the 11th year stops with the mention of the king's name. An inscription of the 7th year of Tribhuvana Chakravarti Kulottunga Chola deva—(I ?) makes a gift of five cows for a lamp. There is an unfinished inscription of the 5th year of Parakesarivarman *alias* Udaiyar Rājendra deva (II?) (with the historical introduction of *Tirumadupuvienum*).

A gift of vessels by a dancing girl to this temple is mentioned in an inscription of the 5th year of a king whose name is lost and this is found on the north wall of the mandapa in front of the central shrine. Thus, it is clear that the present Karivarda Perumāl temple was built by Kundavai Pirāṭṭiyār sometime before the 20th regnal year of Rājarāja I and it received royal patronage and that it is almost contemporaneous with the local Śiva temple of Śrī Maṇikeśvarar and also the grand temple of Rājarājeśvaram itself at the Chola capital Tanjavur.

Fig. 1. Gaja in the *Koshṭa Pañjara*, Śrī Kari-varada Perumāl Temple, Dadapuram.

The temple consists of a *garbhagṛiha*, an *ardhamaṇḍapa* and *mukhamaṇḍapa* as in the case of the local Śiva temple.

It is a *dvitala* structure surmounted by a semi-circular *śikhara* (renovated) and a *stupi*.

The temple structure is similar irrespective of the religious persuasion, Vishṇu and Śiva, to which the two local temples are devoted. We have only to guess that the architecture of the Jaina temple (Kundavai Jinālaya) should also have been similar except that Simha sculptures, might have adorned the *vimāna* instead of Ṛishabha and Garuḍa of the Śiva and Vishṇu temples and the *Vimāna devatās* should have belonged to those of their respective religious persuasion.

Gaja and Simha should have adorned the *Upa-pīṭha* as in the Śiva temple. There are *devakoshṭas* on all the three sides of the *garbhagṛiha* and the *ardhamaṇḍapa* surrounded by a *Makara toraṇa*. All the niches are now empty.

There is a fine *Kodungai* (Kapotam) adorned with *Kudus* on the top of the first *tala* and a *yāli* frieze above it.

Sālas and *Kūṭas* are found in the second *tala*. Among the *Vimāna devatās* may be mentioned Vishṇu on Garuḍa, and Rājamannār. Sculpture of Hanumān perhaps adorned the edges. One of them could be seen over the *Kondungai* of the second *tala* (left side).

Fig. 2. Inscription of Rājarāja I, Kundavai's gift, Śrī Kari-varada Perumāl temple, Dadapuram.

APPENDIX

Dadapuram: (Tindivanam Taluk South Arcot Dist.): (8-16 of 1919).

Vishṇu temple (Kundavai Viṇṇagar)

8 of 1919: North and west walls of Central shrine.

21st year—Rājarājakesarīvarman *alias* Rājarājadeva.

Gives a list of vessels and ornaments made of gold, silver and pearls presented to the temples of Kundavai Viṇṇagar and Iravikulamāṇikka Iśvaram and Kundavai Jinālayam (no longer in existence) built by princess Parāntakan Kundavaippirāttiyār, daughter of Ponmāḷigaitunjina devār in the city of Rajaraja-puram in Nallur nadu, a sub-division of Venkkunrakottam.

Mentions an officer called Parārkrama śola Mūvendavelar.

11 of 1919: South wall—Central shrine.

23rd year—Rājarājakesarīvarman *alias* Rājarāja deva. Gift of 90 sheep for a lamp by a maid servant of the king.

14 of 1919: South and east walls of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine. 23rd year—Rājarājakesarī-varman *alias* Rājarāja deva.

Records that the dancing girls attached to the temple of Iravikulamāṇikka Iśvara and of Kundavai

Viṇṇagar Ālvar should accompany the God in procession and sing and dance during the hunting festival.
10 of 1919: South wall, central shrine.
25th Year Rājarājakesarīvarman *alias* Rājarāja deva.
Gift of sheep for lamps to the temple of Kundavai-Viṇṇagar Ālvar by princess Parāntakan Kundavai Pirāṭṭiyār. Mentions that Sénāpati Mummudiśola Brahmamāṛāyan was in charge of the management of the temple.
See Nos. 31, 33, 39 and 45 of South Indian Inscriptions II.
By the order of the king Rājarāja, the wall of enclosure of the Rājarājesvaram temple was built by the Sénāpati Śrī Krishna Raman *alias* Mummudiśola Brahmamāṛāyan, a Perundanam of Rājarāja I of Amankudi *alias* Keralantika Chaturvedimanglam in Venadu, a part of Uyyakkandan Valanadu in śoḷa maṇḍlam.
12 of 1919: Vishṇu temple—South wall, central shrine.
4th year Parakesarīvarman *alias* Rājendrachola deva.
Gift of sheep for 10 lamps to the temple of Kundavai Viṇṇagar Ālvar by princess Kundavai Pirāttiyār.
9 of 1919: West wall, central shrine.
11th year Parakesarīvarman *alias* Rājendrachola deva.
Stops after king's name.
13 of 1919: South wall, central shrine.
7th year Tribhuvana Chakravarti Kulottunga, Chola deva.
Gift of 5 cows for a lamp.
15 of 1919: East wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine.
5th year—Parakesarivarman *alias* Uḍaiyār Śrī Rājendra deva.
Unfinished.
(Tiru madu puvi enum)
16 of 1919: North wall of *maṇḍapa* in front of central shrine.
5th year—? Name lost.
Gift of vessels by a dancing girl to the temple of Kundavai Viṇṇagar Ālvar to the sacred bath of the God.
Mentions Irāman Śivasaraṇan *alias* Śolapurandara Mūvendavelan the headman of Marai.

Illustrations courtesy of the French Institute of Indology, Pondichery.

Fig. 1. Temple and *Vimāna* view, Śrī Kari-varada Perumāl temple, Dadapuram.

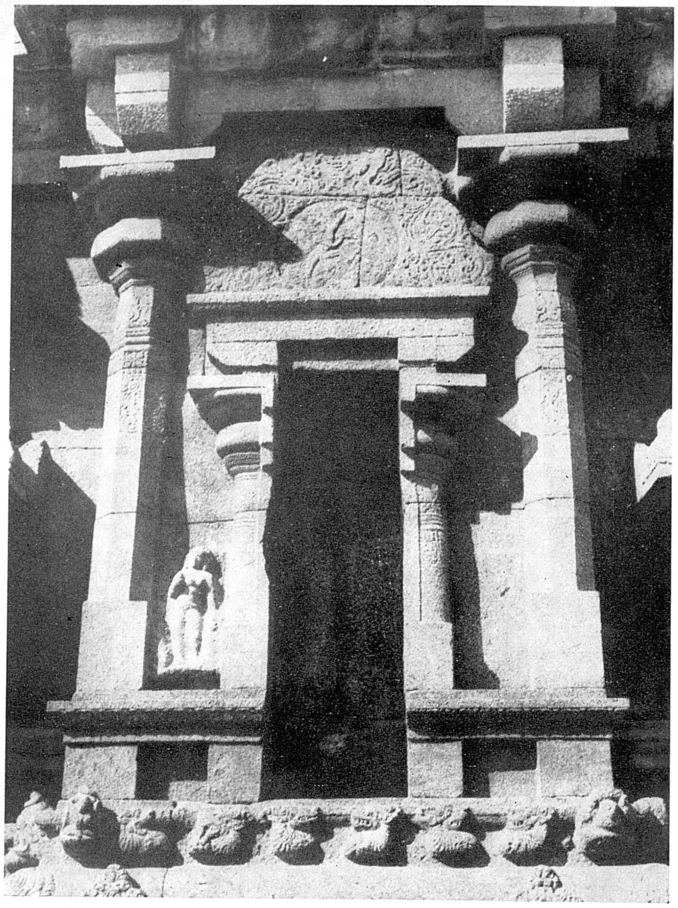


Fig. 2. *Devakoshṭa*, Śrī Kari-varada Perumāl temple, Dadapuram.

Fig. 3. *Kumbha Pañjara*, Śrī Kari-varada Perumāl temple, Dadapuram.

Fig. 4. *Koshṭa Pañjara*, Śrī Kari-varada Perumāl temple, Dadapuram.

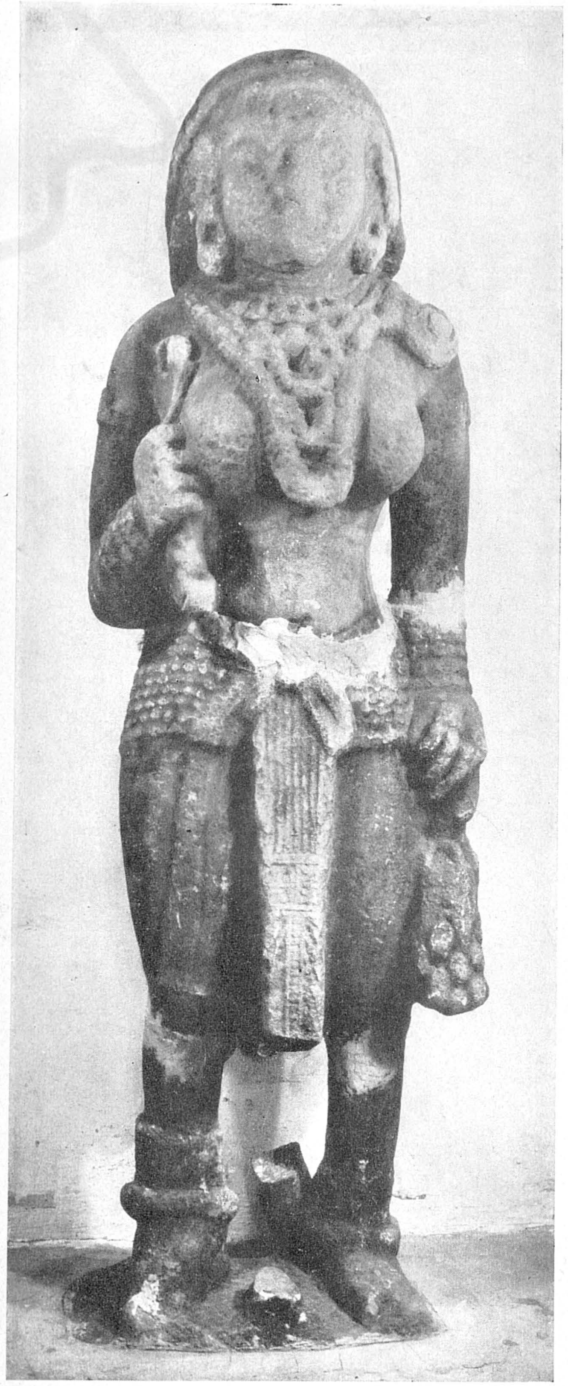


Fig. 1. Yakshī from Besnagar, 2nd century B.C.

Fig. 2. Yaksha from Besnagar, ht. 135″ (2nd century B.C.), Archaeological Museum, Vidisa.

Fig. 3. Yaksha from Ahichchhatra, 2nd century B.C., National Museum, New Delhi.

UNPUBLISHED YAKSHA-YAKSHĪ STATUES FROM BESNAGAR

R. C. Agrawala

The depiction of Yakshas in early Indian art has already been discussed by a number of scholars including Anand Coomaraswamy[1] and V. S. Agrawala.[2] The ancient site of Vidisa (modern Besnagar, near Sanchi, M.P.) has yielded several Yaksha-Yakshī statues, datable to the early centuries of the Christian era. It was from this locality that the colossal statue (six feet seven inches) of a standing Yakshī,[3] was discovered more than forty years ago; the sculpture is now preserved in the Indian Museum at Calcutta. Another specimen of this type from Besnagar preserving only the bust is on display in the Archaeological Museum at Gwalior.[4] A third Yakshī statue measuring about six feet ten inches in height, was discovered by Sri Raj Mal Madavaiyya, towards the beginning of the year 1952 (Pl. XIV, Fig. 1). It also hails from Besnagar and can now be seen as No. 27 in the Archaeological Museum at Vidisa. In fact, the cult of Yakshas and Yakshīs was very popular in India during the period under reference; even small hamlets had their own Yaksha-Yakshī statues for local worship. This is strikingly confirmed by a popular Hindi saying *Gāon Gāon Ko Thākura Gāon Gāon Ko Bīra*. The presence of such massive images was considered auspicious and a source of safety and prosperity to the village folk. During my survey in the region of Bharatpur (Rajasthan), I happened to notice about half a dozen such early Yaksha-Yakshī statues within a radius of nineteen miles; a few of them are exhibited in the State Museum at Bharatpur.

The unpublished Yakshī from Besnagar (Pl. XIV, Fig. 1) is shown in *samapāda sthānaka* pose; in her right hand she holds some indistinct object,[5] bearing resemblance with a somewhat similar object in the Yaksha from Bodha Gaya.[6] The former carries a bunch of mango-fruits in her outstretched left hand, which may indicate her association with some form of Ambikā(?). The problem deserves careful scrutiny from the point of view of early iconography. The execution, dress and ornaments of this Yakshī from Besnagar, bear close affinity with those in the previous Yakshī statues from the same place. All of them are carved in the round and may be dated in the second century B.C. The complete absence of any inscription or traces of Mauryan polish is worthy of note.

Of unusual interest is the colossal statue of a Yaksha, discovered by Sri Raj Mal Madavaiyya in the river Betwa, near the Heliodorus Pillar at Besnagar (Pl. XIV, Fig. 2) in the year 1952. Measuring about eleven feet three inches in height excluding the pedestal it is now on display as No. 22, just at the entrance of the Archaeological Museum at Vidisa. The pedestal, though not visible, measured about

1 *Yakshas*, I-II, Washington 1928 and 1931.

2 *Studies in Indian Art*, Varanasi 1965, pp. 59-62, 111-136.

3 The hands are completely mutilated in this statue; Ananda Coomaraswamy, *A History of Indian & Indonesian Art*, London 1927, Pl. III, Fig. 8;
S. K. Saraswati, *A Survey of Indian Sculpture*, Calcutta 1957, Pl. VIII, Fig. 43;
L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, I, Paris 1929, Pl. 61.

4 Hari Har Nath Dvivedi, *Gwalior Rajya Men Murti Kala* (Hindi), Gwalior, figure 2 presenting obverse and reverse.

5 The lower portion is very thick and so also the upper one. It is neither a flower nor a thunderbolt nor a *Chauri*.

6 Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, London 1953, pl. XIX B. The Yakshī from Didarganj now in the Patna Museum carries a *Chauri* in her right hand.

twelve inches in height. It is, reasonable to consider the existing specimen as the tallest Yaksha statue discovered so far. The famous Yaksha from Baroda[1] preserved in the form of a bust in Mathura Museum is said to have originally measured about twelve feet in height. The following are some of the interesting measurements in respect of the Yaksha statue from Besnagar:

(a) Head to chin=thirty inches.

(b) Chin to navel=thirty-five inches.

(c) Navel to bottom of feet=seventy inches.

(d) Pedestal= twelve inches approx.

The famous Yakshas from Parkham[2] and Noh[3] measure about eight feet eight inches only in height.

The Besnagar Yaksha statue, under scrutiny, is massive and emphasizes muscular strength; it is also carved in the round. Appearing in the *samapāda* pose, the Yaksha wears a *dhotī* as the nether garment, the pointed ends of which can be seen falling on the left leg as we also notice in a contemporary tiny Yaksha terracotta from Ahichchhatra exhibited in the Śuṅga gallery of the National Museum,[4] No. 62.252; (Pl. XIV, Fig. 3) at New Delhi. A rope-like girdle, five inches in thickness, provided with knotted ends, supports the nether garment *(dhotī)* of the Besnagar Yaksha, as we also notice in the Yakshas from Parkham and Noh (Pl. XV, Fig. 4). Even the knot of the turban, to left of the head bears close resemblance with those in the sculptures and terracotta discussed above. Sometimes the protuberance of the turban may also be seen towards the right side of a Yaksha's head as in the Śuṅga terracotta from Chandraketu-garh now preserved in the National Museum at New Delhi, No. 60. 558 (Pl. XV, Fig. 5). The right hand of the male deity in the Besnagar statue was placed near the chest. It probably held a cup of wine whereas the left hand firmly clasps the upper portion of the tall purse or money bag (Skt. *nakulaka;* Hindi *noli*) as in the Pawaya[5] Yaksha statue. These are the characteristic insignia of Kubera—the god of wealth and riches, and were depicted in the Besnagar statue. In the Yaksha image from Noh, the right hand was raised up, probably in the *abhaya* pose (Pl. XV, Fig. 6); there are no signs of any *chaurī* held in his hand; his left hand is placed on the left thigh; this is a depiction of a mighty Yaksha giving protection to the people. Both the hands of the Parkham Yaksha are mutilated; it is, therefore, not possible to suggest its identification with Kubera at all. In the year 1966, I found a Śuṅga torso (in red sandstone) at village Biravai, distant about ten miles from Bharatpur[6] the importance of which is enhanced by the depiction of a sword tied to the waist of the male deity which he keeps firm by placing his left hand on the hip. In this case, the Yaksha has been presented as a 'Vīra' (repository of valour), a feature which is not to be seen in any of the Yaksha statues published so far. The existing name of the village as '*Biravai*' probably owes its derivation from *Vīra*, a synonym for Yaksha in the language of the common people as already suggested above.

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[1] V. S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, p. 60, fig. 39. The portion upto the waist measures about fifty inches in height.

[2] *Ibid.*, Fig. 37 on p. 59, now preserved as C 1 in Mathura Museum.

[3] *Ibid.*, Figs. 61 and 63 on p. 115. It is under regular worship on the outskirts of village Noh, distant four miles from Bharatpur town in Rajasthan.

[4] *Ancient India*, IV, New Delhi 1948, p. 118, pl. 35 B, No. 48.

[5] For Yaksha Maṇibhadra, see V. S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, figs. 36-38 on p. 59. This is definitely later than the Besnagar statue under study.

[6] The torso is now on display in Bharatpur Museum. See my paper under publication in the *Journal of Oriental Institute*, Baroda.

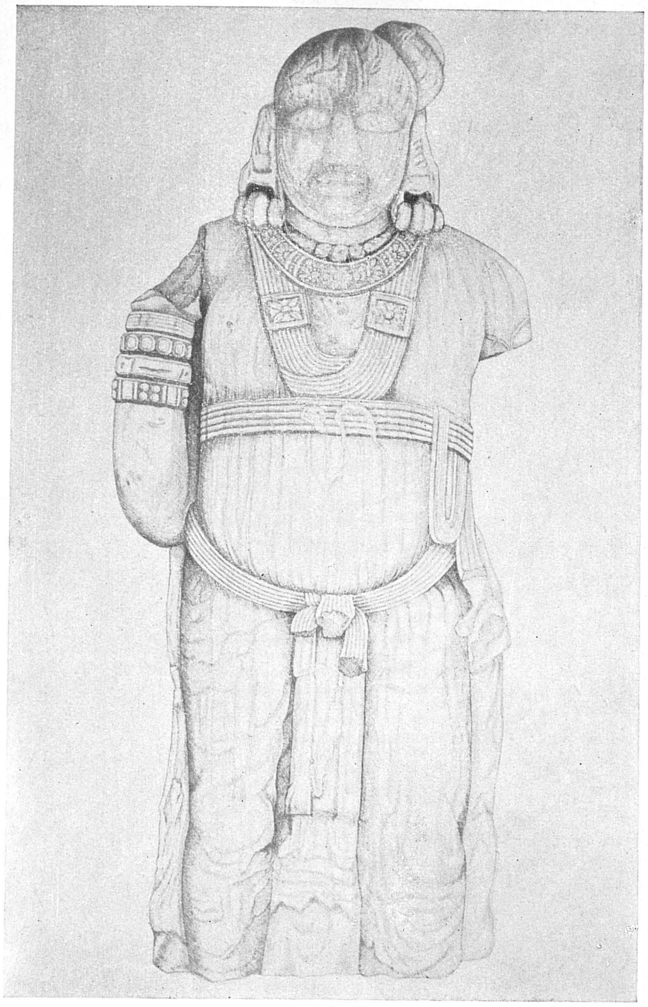


Fig. 4. Yaksha from Noh,
2nd century B.C.

Fig. 5. Yaksha from Chandraketugarh, 2nd century B.C.,
National Museum, New Delhi.

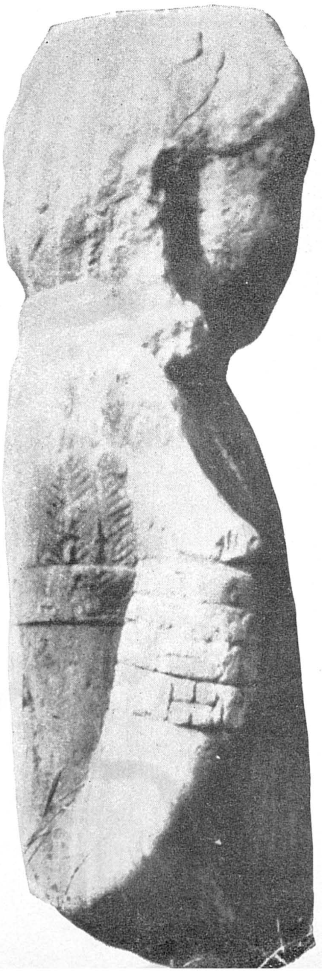
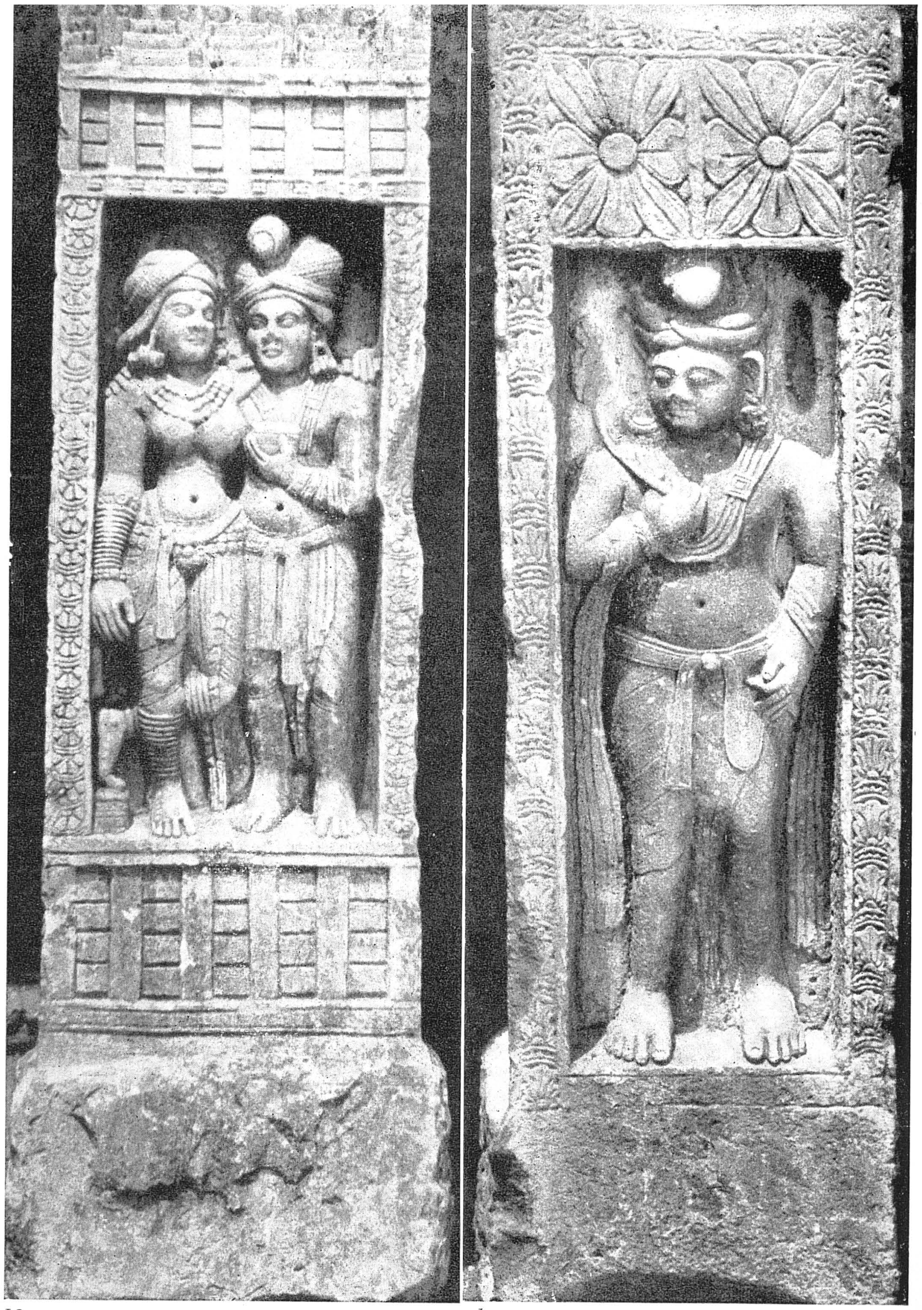


Fig. 6. Right side of Fig. 4.

Fig. 7. Back of Fig 4.

Fig. 1. Śuṅga pillars from Amin, 2nd century B.C.



1a 1b

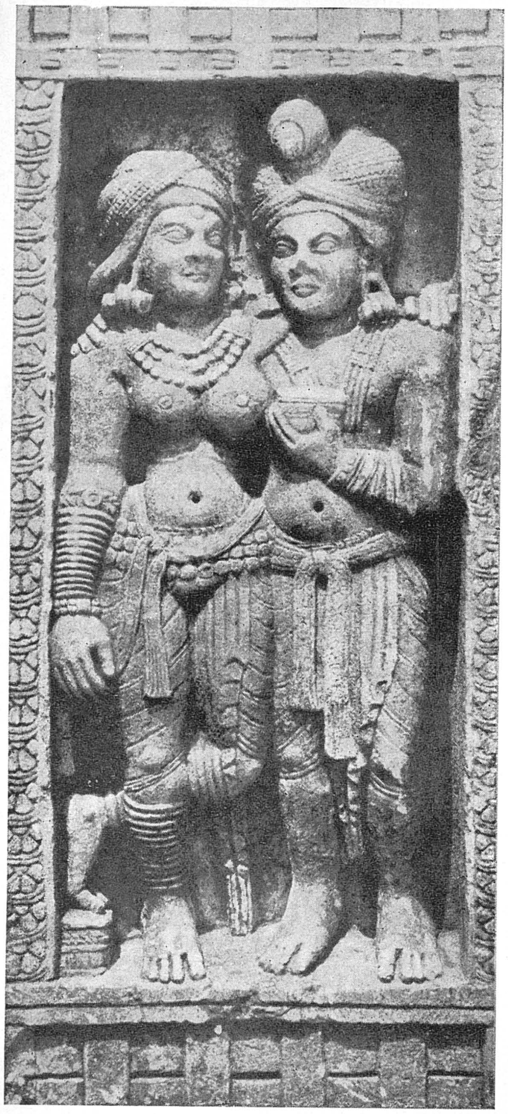


Fig. 2. Yaksha-yakshī, detail of Fig. 1a.

Fig. 3. Yaksha, detail of Fig. 1b.

A thick scarf, in the form of a flat sacred thread, may be seen across the left shoulder of the Besnagar Yaksha; the heavy bracelets (eleven inches in thickness), flat torque and heavy ear-lobes, hanging necklace etc., recall somewhat identical devices depicted in contemporary Yaksha statues discussed above; the feet are devoid of anklets as also in the case of other free standing Yaksha statues. The heavy oval face, prominent eye-balls and thick lips present a somewhat ghastly look. The upper arms are decorated with *sapatra-keyūras* in a traditional style as also seen in the art of Sanchi, Bharhut, Pitalkhora, Mathura, etc. The armlets of the Besnagar Yaksha cover a space measuring about twelve inches; the leaf motif is attached to a thick band which is quite plain and simple; it consists of beaded motifs and sometimes comprises lotus flowers[1] in a line or *svastikas* in a row as on the Begram[2] pottery vessel depicting a Yakshī figure with folded hands. This type of armlets is hardly to be seen in Kushāṇa art; the problem needs to be looked into still further.

The carvings on the back of the Besnagar Yaksha, are equally interesting. The flat torque is tied (at the back) with the help of a flowered button inserted into a hole as we also notice on the back of the Yaksha from Noh, near Bharatpur[3] (Pl. XV, Fig. 7). The *dhotī* has been tied in *akachcha* fashion as in most of the Yaksha-Yakshī statues under scrutiny. The back also depicts parallel curved incisions, suggesting the existence of drapery in the Besnagar statue as also on the back of the Besnagar and Didarganj[4] Yakshīs, and the Yakshas from Noh and Parkham etc. In matters of style and drapery too, the existing Yaksha statue from Besnagar[5] bears close affinity with fairly early Indian specimens of this group. It is an important addition to the Pre-Kushāṇa art of India, mainly because of its fair state of preservation and iconographic features.[6]

1 N. P. Joshi, *Mathura Sculptures*, Lucknow 1966, Figs. 5-6.

2 L. Courtis, *Arts Asiatiques*, Vi (2), Paris 1959, pp. 135-140 and figures. The motif of presenting the bust of a lady reminds us of a similar device in Greek vessels, though the execution is purely Indian in the Begram specimen under study. One such ceramic pot has recently been excavated at Ujjain as well; the body portion comprises a Yakshī figure.

3 Below can be seen hanging two ends of the necklace. In the Baroda Yaksha, of course, we notice four such *phulla* ends (V. S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, fig. 39 on p. 60) of the heavy necklace.

4 L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, plate 9c for the back view of the Didarganj Yakshī as in the Besnagar Yakshī, now in the Indian Museum at Calcutta.

5 Pramod Chandra, "Yaksha and Yakshi Images from Vidiśā," *Arts Orientalis*, VI, Washington 1966, pp. 157-163 and plates. The author has missed the important object, namely, a prominent money bag. The Yaksha represents Kubera. The Yakshī may be identified as Ambikā and not a *chaurī*-bearer.

6 Photographs of the Yaksha and Yakshī from Besnagar were supplied by the Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi, and the remaining photographs by the Director, National Museum, New Delhi. Photograph of the front view of Noh Yaksha was kindly lent by Dr. Satya Prakash.

ŚUṄGA PILLARS FROM AMIN, NEAR KURUKSHETRA

R. C. Agrawala

It was about forty-five years ago that D. B. Spooner had reported the discovery of two red sandstone pillars[1] at Amin,[2] distant about five miles from Kurukshetra, in Karnal District of former Panjab and modern Haryana State. They were briefly noticed and illustrated by him in the *Archaeological Survey of India—Annual Report for year 1921-22*, p. 47; *ibid.*, 1922-23, plate V, E. They were then kept in front of the Temple of Thākurjī on the bank of Suraj Kund at Amin. I had the opportunity of scrutinising these early pillars on 6th July, 1967, through the kindness of Mr. C. Sivaramamurti, Director, National Museum, New Delhi.

The details and the illustrations presented by Mr. Spooner are scanty. He has reproduced the front portions only. It is, therefore, proposed to discuss and illustrate them in detail in the present article. Such early and beautiful sculptures have not hitherto been reported from this region.

Both the pillars from Amin (Pl. XVI, Fig. 1) have been carved out of red sandstone. Datable to the Śuṅga period (i.e. second-first century B.C.) on stylistic and palaeographic grounds, both of them bear close affinity with the contemporary material from Bharhut, Sanchi and other places. Because of the absence of any socket for the cross bar, it will be safer to exclude them from the list of railing pillars. They appear to have been lower portions of door jambs of some gateway as we notice on the Eastern gateway at Sanchi.[3] Both the pillars from Amin are carved on all the four sides and that further confirms this view. It may also be noted that a big hole has been provided on the top of each of these pillars, probably to support some sculptural piece from above as seen at Sanchi and elsewhere. On four sides, along the edges on the top of these pillars from Amin, have been engraved short inscriptions in *Brāhmī* script of the Śuṅga[4] period; they supply us the names of the donors. It is not plausible to assign them to the Kushāṇa period. They are decidedly earlier specimens and bear close affinity with the art of Bharhut and Sanchi.

PILLAR NO. 1

Measures about fifty inches in height and seventeen inches in width. It (Pl. XVI, Fig. 1a) presents a Yaksha-Yakshī couple standing in an amorous *(mithuna)* pose. The niche above is twenty-seven inches in height (Pl. XVI, Fig. 2). Here can be seen the Yaksha to the left of the Yakshī; both are clasping each other by way of placing one of their hands on the shoulders of each other. The Yakshī has stretched her right hand below, whereas the Yaksha holds a wine cup *(madhu pātra)* in his left hand and keeps it near the left breast of his spouse. They wear typical turbans on their heads in the Śuṅga style. Both of them wear tight-fitting *dhotīs* reaching up to their knees. *Prākara vapra kuṇḍalas*,[5] in their ears, recall identical ear ornaments

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1 R. C. Agrawala, "Early History and Archaeology of Kurukshetra Region," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta XXXI (4), 1955, pp. 204-206.

2 Probably ancient *Abhimanyu Tīrtha* of the *Mahābhārata*. It is about 100 miles from Delhi.

3 L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, I, Paris 1929, pl. 58. Here also can be seen *Padmapāṇi Yaksha* as on the Amin Pillar No. 2.

4 Anand Coomaraswamy, *A History of Indian & Indonesian Art*, London 1927, p. 32, also makes a passing reference to this fact.

5 A. Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, Varanasi 1962, pl. 49, figs. 13-14;
V. S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, Varanasi 1965, pp. 95-96, fig. 57, on p. 95.

அரசு தொல்பொருள் ஆய்வுத்துறை நூலகம் - சென்னை
எண் 7347
தேதி

in the art of Bharhut which is never to be seen in Kushāṇa sculptures.

The Yaksha, in Pillar No. 1 from Amin, is shown without the *keyūras*; he has bracelets on the forearms and a four-stringed necklace of early style. The flat torque *(graiveyaka)* round the neck is absent. The ornaments of the Yakshī include a three-stringed[1] beaded necklace of the Bharhut style; a beaded girdle (of three strings) round her waist and bangles covering the entire forearms and lower portion of the legs as we also notice in case of *Bhīla* ladies of Rajasthan nowadays. We do come across the use of bangles at Bharhut[2] but not so profusely as on this pillar from the Kurukshetra region.

The modelling of the figures on the Amin pillars is very pleasing, specially the slender waist of the Yakshī on Pillar 1. The entire composition is devoid of the flatness which we notice in the Bharhut sculptures. The rosette border on the exterior of the niche of this pillar (Pl. XVI, Fig. 2) is very elegant. The lower portion thereof presents the railings with cross-bars as a decorative motif as also seen in some Bharhut[3] sculptures. The lowest portion of the Amin pillar is of course quite rough; it was probably intended to be buried into the earth. The upper portion of the slab depicts the simple railing motif and above appear stepped merlons[4] alternating with *śrīvatsa*-like symbols in a regular order in a single row.

The left side of the Amin pillar (No. 1) presents a motif consisting of lotus creeper issuing out of the mouth of a crocodile *(makara)* and encircling four lotus flowers, beautifully carved in a single row (Pl. XVII, Fig. 4). This particular device[5] may well be noticed at Sanchi, Bharhut, Mathura etc. The opposite side, to the right, presents, within the charming lotus border, the famous device of lotus stalk coming out of the mouth of a seated Yaksha (Pl. XVII, Fig. 6) and encircling the lotus flowers as also seen in the contemporary art of Bharhut.[6]

The other side of the same pillar (Pl. XVII, Fig. 5) is even more interesting because it is fully carved with following designs in four different rows:

a) Palmette in first row.
b) Blue-lotus creeper in second row
c) Lotus petals in third row.
d) Palmette in the last row.

PILLAR NO. 2

The second pillar from Amin (Pl. XVI, Fig. 3) is about forty-six inches in height. The lower part thereof is plain and simple whereas the upper part presents two lotus flowers just above the turban

1 A. Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, Varanasi 1962, pl. 50, fig. 1.
2 *Ibid.*, pl. 51, figs. 4-5-6 for anklets and fig. 1 for bracelets in the art of Bharhut.
3 *Ibid.*, pl. 18.
4 S. C. Kala, *Bharhut Vedika*, Allahabad 1951, p. 32, pl. 7, top row for a similar device at Bharhut and pl. 25 A for *śrīvatsa* motif.
5 Mrs. O. Viennot, "Typologie du Makara et essai de chronologie," *Arts Asiatiques*, Paris, I (3), 1954, p. 191, pl. I.
Ibid., p. 195, pl. III, fig. 2.
For Amaravati Motif, V. A. Smith, *Jain Stupa of Mathura*, Allahabad 1901, pl. XXVI—back view.
6 A. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Paris 1956, pl. XXXV, fig. 101.
V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, I, Varanasi 1965, pl. XXV, fig. 676.
S. C. Kala, *Bharhut Vedika*, pl. II, p. 35.
It is a broken piece. We also find a lotus-stalk issuing out of navel of the Yaksha in Bharhut sculptures. Sometimes such a motif is associated with an elephant as well (Cunningham, *Stupa of Bharhut*, pl. XI).

of *Padmapāṇī* Yaksha. He is carrying a lotus stalk in his right hand and holds the left end of the waist-band in his left hand. The four-stringed necklaces, round ear-lobes, typical turban and a scarf thrown on the forearms have been executed competently. This type of Yaksha appears on the gateway of Sanchi as well. The left side of Pillar No. 2 from Amin presents lotus stalks coming out of a crocodile's mouth and encircling two lotus flowers quite vividly (Pl. XVII, Fig. 8). On the opposite side, we notice the vase and foliage motif; it consists of a lotus creeper emerging out of a *ghaṭa* or *pūrṇa-kalaśa* and encircling three lotus flowers, beautifully carved one over the other in a single row (Pl. XVII, Fig. 7). Symbolising abundance and prosperity, this reminds us of a somewhat similar representation at Sanchi,[1] Kausambi,[2] Bharhut,[3] etc. This particular theme from the Amin pillar is a welcome addition to the vase and foliage motif in early Indian art.

The inscription on Pillar No. 2 consists of several small letters in the *Brāhmī* script. It records the names of a few donors; the letters are in a somewhat blurred condition. The letters on Pillar No. 1 are of course quite bold and legible. Consisting of 15 letters only, the inscription on Pillar No. 1 records the gift *(dāna)* of the mother of a person named *Rasi (Ṛishi* or *Rāśi) Mitra*; he is said to have been the grandson of a lady called *Bhikhunikā.* The unpublished inscription[4] may be read as follows:

Bhikhunikā[5] *Potasa*[6] *Rasimitra*[7] *Mātu*[8] *dānam.*

The above pillar[9] fragments from Amin are, therefore, very important relics in the realm of early Indian art. The richness of motifs on both of them is quite evident from the details of side reliefs discussed above and they have an important bearing on the ancient art of the Kurukshetra region.[10]

Editors' Note:

Since the above article was written the two Amin pillars were removed by a vandal and sought to be shifted to New York. The attempt, however, was foiled by the Bombay Customs and they were off-loaded from the ship. They are now in Customs charge pending further investigation into the illegal attempt to export them.

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1 Prithivi Kumar Agrawala, *Pūrṇa Kalaśa*, Varanasi 1965, fig. 2 on p. 11.

2 *Ibid.*, pl. VII;
Indian Archaeology 1956-57, A Review, pl. 38 A, depicting the Gaja-Lakshmī motif on the top of lotus petals.

3 S. C. Kala, *Bharhut Vedika*, pl. 13. Here we notice the vase and foliage design and not the row of several lotus flowers as on Amin sculpture under study.

4 The reading is based on a hurried pencil rubbing. It requires close analysis and scientific study.

5 May be *Bhikshunikā.*

6 Probably *pautrasya*=of grandson.

7 *Rishimitra* or *Rāśimitra.*

8 i.e. of mother.

9 Illustrated by Dr. V. S. Agrawala in "Pre-Kushana Art of Mathura," *Journal of U. P. Historical Society*, Lucknow, VI (2), 1933, pp. 81-120, figures 12 and 17. The side and back portions of these pillars have not been published as yet.

10 Photographs accompanying this paper were prepared by Mr. S. P. Nanda and kindly supplied by the Director, National Museum, New Delhi.

Fig. 4. Left side of pillar 1a.

Fig. 5. Back of pillar 1a.

Fig. 6. Right side of pillar 1a.

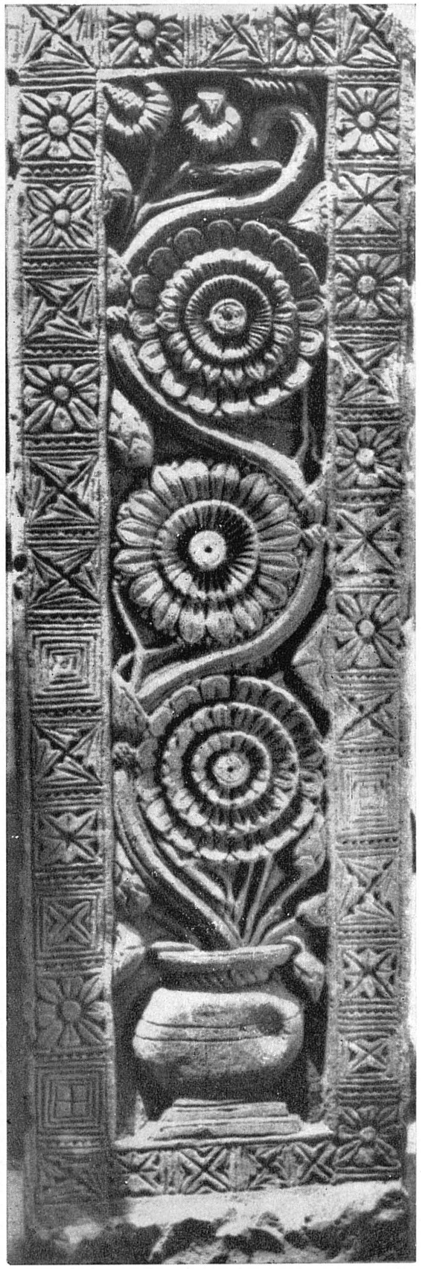
Fig. 7. Left side of pillar 1b.

Fig. 8. Right side of pillar 1b.

Fig. 1.
Railing pillar I from Bharhut, 2nd century B.C. National Museum, New Delhi.

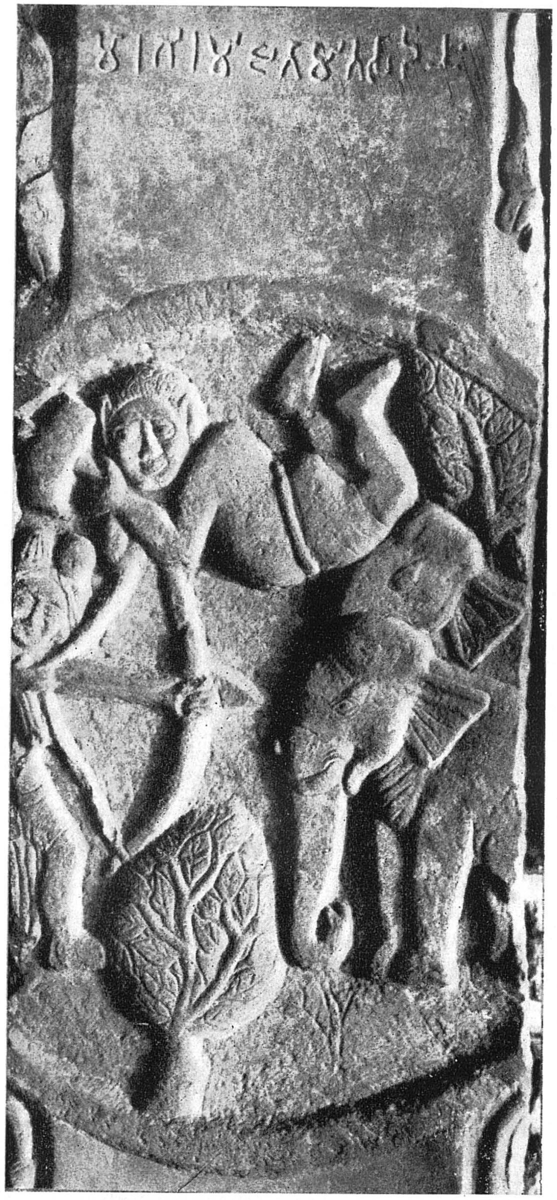

Fig. 3. *Shaḍdanta Jātaka*, detail of Fig. 1.

Fig. 2. Male bust, detail of Fig. 1.

Fig. 5. Female bust, detail of Fig. 4.

Fig. 4. Back of Fig. 1.

Fig. 6. *Mahākapi Jātaka*, detail of Fig. 4.

Fig. 8. Fish-tailed horse rider, detail of Fig. 7.

Fig. 10. *Suvarṇa Karkaṭa Jātaka*, detail of Fig. 9.

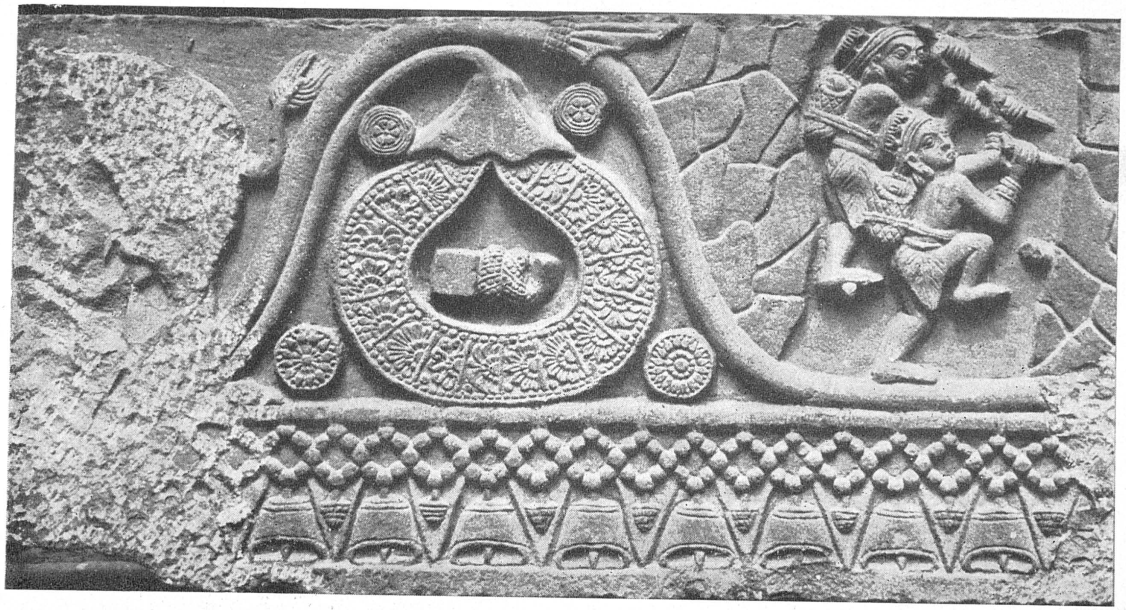

Fig. 11. Coping stone from Bharhut, 2nd century B.C., National Museum, New Delhi.

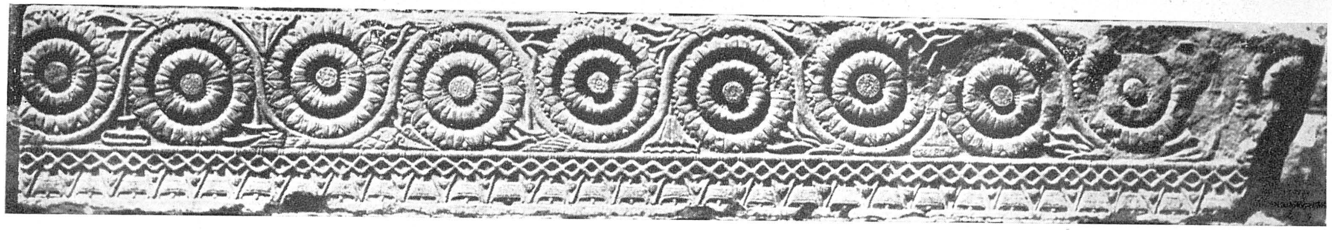

Fig. 12. Coping stone from Bharhut, 2nd century B.C., National Museum, New Delhi.

NOTES

UNPUBLISHED BHARHUT RELIEFS IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM, NEW DELHI

The *Mahāstūpa* at Bharhut, situated in district Satna of Madhya Pradesh, was discovered by Alexander Cunningham towards the end of November 1873. It was later on exposed by him in year 1874, the results of which were fully discussed and illustrated by Cunningham himself in his monumental work.[1] Cunningham had also noticed a few inscribed[2] slabs from this great Stūpa studded on the modern residential fortress (i.e. *Garhī*) of a local chieftain at village Bhatanwara,[3] distant about two miles from Bharhut itself.

The Bhatanwara stone reliefs, owned by Thakur Urmila Pratap in his *garhī*, have not been published so far. They were first noticed by Sri Raj Kishore Shukla, Advocate of Satna; he informed the Govt. of India about their present whereabouts for which we are extremely grateful to him. Now acquired[4] for display in the National Museum at New Delhi, Museum nos. 68.161 to 165, these stone reliefs include an inscribed octagonal pillar, two horizontal coping stones and two railing pillars *(vedikā stambhas)* bearing exquisite carvings. They have not been illustrated by Cunningham in his memoir cited above. All of them, carved during the second century B.C., appear to have been chiselled off, towards the side ends for their subsequent use in the modern masonry of the *Garhī* at Bhatanwara referred to above.

I. *Railing Pillar:* No. 68.161; height 253.5 cms., width 29·5 cms. On sides are oval socket holes for supporting the cross bars as usual. The front portion (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 1) comprises of a male bust and above stepped merlons alternating with lotus stalks (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 2); the half lotus *(ardhakamala)* motif is carved at the bottom of the pillar. The central portion, comprising of a round medallion, depicts the *Jātaka* story (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 3) in a traditional manner. It may be identified as the famous *Shaḍdanta Jātaka*[5] depicting hunter Soṇuttara, discharging an arrow from his bow. He was deputed by queen Subhadrā to fetch the tusks of the mighty elephant. The existing relief, however, presents a two-tusked elephant instead of six-tusked, accompanied by its companion. Above them appears a flying celestial being carrying a hammer in his hands and attempting to strike the head of the archer shown below. We have to look forward for a literary reference to this particular carving of a flying figure. He is perhaps Yaksha Śainku-Karṇa, shown to help the *Bodhisattva* (elephant Shaḍdanta) who was attacked by the hunter. It appears that this particular medallion presents a very simplified form of the *Shaḍdanta Jātaka*, whereas the same story, on another medallion from Bharhut itself, reveals more details.[6] Prof. Bajpai,[7] who had a passing look at this Bhatanwara relief some years ago, has suggested its identification with the *Nāga Jātaka*, but that is far from satisfactory. He was influenced by the presence of an elephant alone, and identified the relief accordingly. In fact the leg of the elephant should have been caught by a crab as narrated in the *Nāga Jātaka* which is so graphically carved elsewhere at Bharhut[8] itself and actually labelled as *Nāga Jātaka* as such with an inscription. Another narration of this type has not been presented by any of the reliefs discussed in detail by A. Foucher.[9]

A single line inscription engraved in Śuṅga *Brāhmī* script, a little above the round medallion, may be read as follows: *Moragirami Jitāmitasa*[10] *dānaṃ* i.e. "Gift of a person named Jita-Mitra, belonging to Moragiri." Cunningham's reading —*giri* is not correct; it should be *girami*. *Moragiri* is the name of a certain place alluded to as *moragirihma* and *moragirimā* in several inscriptions from Bharhut itself. The name of the donor may be read as *Jitamita* and not *Jāta Mita* read by Bajpai. We are of course in darkness about the exact location of Moragiri or Mayūragiri, so frequently referred to in the Bharhut Inscriptions published so far.

The reverse of the aforesaid railing pillar (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 4) depicts a female bust (Pl. XVIII, Fig. 5) on the top and a half-lotus motif down below. The central portion is covered by a *Jātaka* scene inside a round medallion (Pl. XIX, Fig. 6). Here we notice a royal person seated on a high throne and surrounded by his courtiers. One of them escorts a cringing monkey having a prominent tail but a turbaned human head. It appears that the sculptor here has depicted the *Mahākapi Jātaka*[11] story in a slightly different manner; the monkey's face is completely human here;

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1 Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, London 1879 (Reprinted at Varanasi 1962).

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 128-131, plate 55, nos. 90-96.

3 The place has been wrongly spelt by Cunningham and others as Batanmāra or Bhātancmārā. The village is situated just on the main road leading to Satna.

4 Acquired for National Museum, New Delhi in July 1968 through the kind co-operation of Sri Abbi, Collector and District Magistrate, Satna.

5 *Jātaka* no. 514; E. B. Cowell, *The Jātaka*, V. Cambridge 1905, pp. 24 ff.

6 Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, pp. 62-64, plate XXVI (6).

7 K. D. Bajpai, New Bharhut Sculptures, *Journal of Indian Museums*, XVII-XX, Bombay 1961-1964, p. 36.

8 Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, pp. 52-53, pl. XXV (2);
B. M. Barua, *Barhut*, II, Calcutta 1934, pp. 112 ff, plate 79, no. 107;
A. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Paris 1956, plate XXX, fig. 79.

9 A. Foucher, *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, Paris 1917, pp. 185-204 and plates.

10 Cunningham's reading *Jitamita* is correct; the sculptor has provided *ā* stroke above *ta*, probably by mistake. Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 139, no. 95.

11 Cowell, *The Jātaka*, III, Cambridge 1897, pp. 285 ff. *Jātaka* No. 407.

whereas in the other[1] medallion from Bharhut itself, he is shown as the real monkey chief. Besides this, the jumping and crossing of the river, as narrated in the *Mahākapi Jātaka*, is conspicuous by its absence in this Bhatanwara medallion where the human-headed monkey (Bodhisattva) has grown too weak to stand and that is why he is being offered a helping hand by the royal attendant from behind. It may represent a simplified version of the *Mahākapi Jātaka*, emphasizing the concluding portion of the story, i.e. the monkey chief being escorted to the ruler to disclose his identity after he had shown unusual courage for the safety of his fellow monkeys.

II. *Railing Pillar*, no. 68.162; height 189 cms., width 27.5 cms. On the reverse (Pl. XIX, Fig. 7) may be seen the half lotus motif at the bottom and a fish-tailed horse-rider inside the round medallion (Pl. XIX, Fig. 8) above; the uppermost portion stands mutilated on both sides. The male rider firmly holds the bridle of the horse; he wears a turban on his head, *dhotī* reaching the knees, flat torque *(graiveyaka)* and four-stringed necklace hanging on the chest. The entire carving is in the typical Śuṅga style. The flying horse on this medallion may very well be compared with the representation of mythical horses in the contemporary sculptures from Jaggayyapetta in Southern India.[2] In the *Valahassa Jātaka*[3] a flying horse is mentioned; it soars in the sky like the horse of *Yaksha* in the *Vidhurapaṇḍita Jātaka*.[4] On the front side of this Bharhut railing (Pl. XIX, Fig. 9) may be seen a carving of a half-lotus at the bottom and a round medallion with a single line inscription in *Brāhmī* script above as usual (Pl. XX, Fig. 10). The same may be read as *Karahakaṭa Utaragadhikasa thabho dā*[5] i.e. "gift of a pillar by a certain person belonging to a place called *Karahakaṭa*",[6] which is so frequently referred to in the Bharhut Inscriptions.[7] As regards the next phrase, *Utara* may be the proper name of some individual dealing in perfumes; the entire phrase *Utaragadhika* may be regarded as a proper name of the donor himself.[8]

The medallion below the inscription, on Bhatanwara railing pillar under review, is all the more interesting as it presents, for the first time, *Suvaṇṇa-Karkaṭa Jātaka*, in a graphic manner. Prof. Bajpai's identification of the scene with *Ghaṭāsana Jātaka* is absolutely wrong because he simply took note of the bird on the tree and ignored the important association of a crab *(karkaṭa)* and a snake altogether. According to the story, as narrated in the *Suvarṇa Karkaṭa Jātaka*,[9] a black serpent, having been requested by a crow, bit a certain Brahmin who is seen lying on the ground. His friend, a crab, came to the rescue and caught hold of the serpent by its left claw and the crow, by the right. The crab cleverly forced the snake to take away the poison from the body of the dead Brahmin, with the result that the latter rose up alive. In the relief the Brahmin can be seen standing on the right side. Thereafter the crab strangled both the snake and the crow to death with its claws. The serpent, the crow, the crab and the Brahmin boy, in this particular story, represent Māra, Devadatta, Ānanda and Bodhisattva respectively. The particular sculptor at Bharhut has thus faithfully executed this *Jātaka* episode.

III. *Coping Stone*, no. 68.163. It is carved on one side only; the side end decorations appear to have been chipped off during the process of its use into the modern masonary in the *Garhī* at Bhatanwara. The central right portion[10] of the slab (Pl. XX, Fig. 11) depicts two male figures carrying dagger-like sharp instruments in their hands; they may represent forest-dwellers as is evident from their garments; on their backs they are carrying baskets of implements and weapons to chisel the rocks; they have actually cut off the rock and even prepared steps. This is very interesting as it represents the process of carving rocks with sharp instruments for the building of rock-cut structures, domestic or religious. The employment of local *Kirātas*, wearing leaf garments, is equally interesting. The relief therefore has an important bearing on the contemporary life.

IV. *Coping Stone*, no. 68.164, length 231.5 cms., width 35.5 cms. Here we notice nine lotus flowers in a single row and bells hanging in a line below as also on other coping stones from Bharhut itself.[11] The National Museum coping stone under study, presents an interesting picture of various types of lotus flowers at one place (Pl. XX, Fig. 12). The lower portions of the railing pillars from Bhatanwara represent beautifully carved half-lotus designs. (Pl. XXI, Figs. 13-15).

V. *Inscribed Pillar*, no. 68.185, height 144.5 cms., width 21 cms., (Pl. XXI, Fig. 16). Inscription on an octagonal pillar, in three small lines in *Brāhmī* script of the second century B.C., was not properly read by Cunningham. The first line thereof is very important as it clearly refers to the regime of the Śuṅgas; it should not be confused with 'Sugha' or 'Srughna' in any way. The inscription refers to (the construction of) a *toraṇa* during the regime of the Śuṅgas:

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1 L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Paris 1929, Vol. I, pl. XXX, top left for this relief; Coomarsawamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, plate XXVII.

2 J. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupa of Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapetta, A. S. S. India*, London 1887, pl. 55, fig. 1.

3 Cowell, *The Jātaka* II, no. 196, p. 90.

4 C. Shivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures*, Madras 1956, p. 94.

5 It should have been *dānam* (gift).

6 Cunningham (*The Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 136) had suggested its identification with village *Karha* near Manikapur, situated not very far from Satna.

7 Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, pp. 131, 135-36.

8 It is not at all plausible to read it as *Utaragidhikasa*. Bajpai, "New Bharhut Sculptures," *Journal of Indian Museums, Bombay*, XVII-XX, 1961-1964, p. 37, reads the first word as *Karahakaṭasa* whereas the ending *sa* is not to be seen on the original relief at all. The correct reading should therefore be *Karahakaṭa*.

9 *Jātaka* no. 389; E. B. Cowell, *The Jātaka*, III, Cambridge 1897, pp. 183 to 196.

10 Elsewhere in the art of Bharhut itself, we notice two ear-lobes of this very type inside the torque; Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, plate 48, no. 8.

11 Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, plates XI, XL; S.C. Kala, *Bharhut Vedika*, Allahabad 1951, no. 34, p. 27 depicting a Bharhut relief with seven lotus flowers in a single row.

Fig. 13. Detail of Fig. 1.

Fig. 14. Detail of Fig. 9.

Fig. 15. Detail of Fig. 7.

Fig. 16. Inscribed pillar from Bharhut, 2nd century B.C., National Museum, New Delhi.

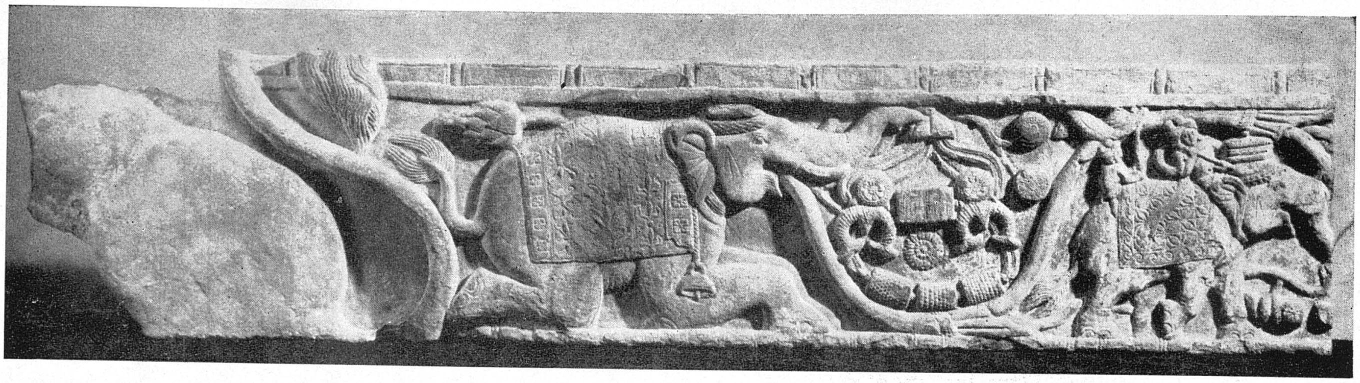


Fig. 1. Buddha's relics being carried by elephant procession, Bharhut, National Museum, New Delhi.

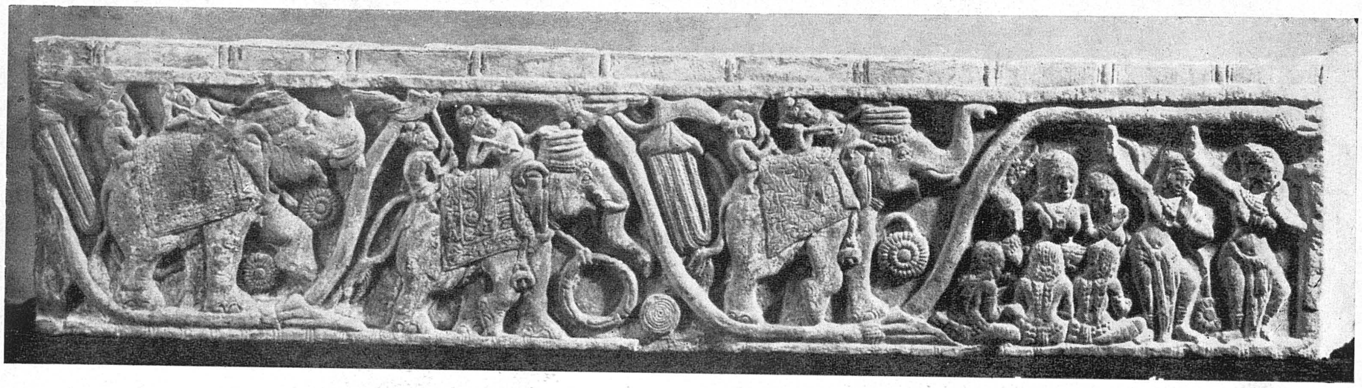


Fig. 2. Continuation of Fig. 1.

Fig. 3. Dance party, detail of Fig. 2.

Line 1. *Sugānam*[1] *ra(ja)*[2]................
,, 2. *Agara ju*[3] (?)....................
,, 3. *Toraṇaṃ*........................

Details of the above theme may well be had from the exhaustive inscription recovered from the Eastern Gateway at Bharhut itself and now preserved in Indian Museum at Calcutta. The latter furnishes in detail, the geneology of king Dhanabhūti, the son of Agarāja and the grandson of Viśvadeva; it was during the regime of Dhanabhūti that the eastern Gateway at Bharhut was caused to be made along with carvings on it.[4]

R. C. Agrawala

Photographs by courtesy National Museum, New Delhi. We are also negotiating to acquire two Bharhut reliefs discussed earlier in this issue of *Lalit Kalā*; they present the story of the "Relics of Buddha being carried on elephants in a procession."

A SHORT NOTE ON UNPUBLISHED RELIEFS FROM BHARHUT

Śuṅga sculptures from Bharhut (distant about seven miles from Satna in Madhya Pradesha) are quite famous in the realm of early Indian art. The Museums at Calcutta and Allahabad preserve a rich collection of very interesting sculptures from this ancient Buddhist site. A few important pieces are also studded in the residential house of a local chieftain of Bhatanwara, distant about three miles from Bharhut itself. They have been reserved for display in the National Museum at New Delhi.

The above collection, at Bhatanwara, included two rectangular stone panels (Pl. XXII, Figs. 1-2) depicting the scene of the Relics of the Lord Buddha being carried on four elephants in a procession and headed by a dance party (Pl. XXII, Fig. 3). These panels present a continuous story. Till now, we had only one such fragmentary piece from Bharhut itself preserved in the Allahabad Museum;[5] here only one elephant carrying the relic casket is to be seen whereas the Bhatanwara panels depict four such elephants in a single row. This particular motif was also noticed by Cunningham on a corner pillar of the eastern gateway at Bharhut where one of the standard (*dhvaja*)-bearers was a female riding on a horse; the man sitting on the back of the elephant held the relic casket.[6]

It was from the art of Bharhut that subsequent sculptors got inspiration and presented this Buddhist theme in their sculptural works at Sanchi, Amaravati etc., and that enhances the importance of Bhatanwara panels still further. The left side relief (Fig. 1; 124 × 28.8 cms) depicts a lion on its left, next appears an elephant holding a lotus stalk encircling the necklace consisting of auspicious symbols so typical of Bharhut art; space to right presents a well-caparisoned elephant carrying the riders with the relic casket. This theme is further continued in the second panel (134.5 × 28.8 cms) where we notice three elephants walking to the right likewise; they are headed by a dance and music party consisting of eight ladies, garbed in the traditional Śuṅga style. The last scene recalls to our minds the famous *goshṭhī* scene on the contemporary relief from Bharhut itself[7] depicting Paradise of Indra and celestial maidens dancing.

They recall to our minds two Śuṅga pieces of a coping stone from Besnagar, preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Gwalior. The larger piece measures 7 feet 4 inches in length, 11 inches in height and 11 inches in width. Both of them present, on the front side in a row, a male person standing in front of a horse rider preceding the elephant rider carrying the relic-casket in a procession.[8]

R. C. Agrawala

Photographs by courtesy Director, National Museum, New Delhi.

A UNIQUE ŚIVA-HEAD IN THE NATIONAL MUSEUM AT NEW DELHI

The impact of Greek and Roman motifs on Indian Art is very well known to Indian and foreign scholars. It was several years ago that an interesting sculpture of Nude Herakles and Nemean Lion, was discovered at Mathura. Now preserved in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, it bears testimony to a positive imitation of Greek divinity in Indian art; the theme and the Praxitelan *dehanchement* of the body might be borrowed from some classical source but the style is Indian, distinguished by the same general traits of modelling employed in earlier figure sculpture.[9] It appears that this Greek theme was very well presented in the contemporary terracotta art of Mathura as well. One such tiny terracotta piece of a seated male figure is preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Mathura[10] as No. 2440. It is an Indian adaptation of the above stone relief from Mathura region itself.

Equally interesting is an elegant Śiva head, recently presented on loan to the National Museum at New Delhi (L. 668), from Mrs. Krishna Riboud, Paris. It is carved out of the typical whitespotted red sandstone from Rupbasa (Bharatpur) quarries. Most of the sculptures from Mathura region are hewn out of this particular stone. The head (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1) measuring 30.5 cms. in height represents Śiva with a vertical third eye *(tri-netra)* mark on his forehead; the

1 This is spelt as *Suganam* in the Bharhut inscription, now in Indian Museum at Calcutta.

2 The last letter is damaged here.

3 The last letter here also is pretty damaged, and so is the case with *ra* preceding it.

4 Cunningham, *The Stupa of Bharhut*, pp. 128-130;
S. C. Kala, *Bharhut Vedika*, p. 3;
N. G. Majumdar, *A Guide to the Sculptures in Indian Museum*, Calcutta 1937, Vol. I, p. 95.

5 S. C. Kala, *Bharhut Vedikā*, Allahabad 1951, p. 34, pl. 17, no. s. 45; 17″×14″.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 18.

7 Rowland B., *The Art and Architecture of India*, London 1953, pl. 17.

8 Hari Hara Nath Dvivedī, *Gwalior Rājya Meñ Prāchin Mūrti Kalā*, (Hindi), p. 8, fig. 6.

9 B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, London 1953, p. 97, pl. 49B.

10 V. S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, Varanasi 1965, p. 176. It measures only 3½″ in height.

smile on the face is extremely charming and so also the position of the lips. The importance of the sculpture is further enhanced by the execution of Greek devices comprising of the non-Indian curly hair falling on the back. The ends of the fillet are falling behind his left ear. A crescent mark *(ardha-chandra)*, touching the fillet to the left, further confirms the identification of the deity with *Chandramauli* Śiva (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 2). The sculpture may be dated towards the early third century A.D.

Curls on Śiva-head can very well be seen in the Kushāṇa art as in the one-faced *Śiva-Liṅga* in whitespotted red sandstone from Mathura, preserved as No. H 2 of Lucknow Museum.[1] The fillet on Śiva-head, in the existing sculpture from National Museum, appears to be somewhat Indianised as compared to the one presented on early coins of the Indo-Greeks.[2] But for the crescent and the third eye mark, it is rather difficult to identify the head as a product of Indian art. Its execution in this particular stone of Mathura-Bharatpur region is all the more important. Another Śiva-head of this type has not been published as yet. In the early years of the Christian era, the importation of *Yavana* (Roman) wines is referred to in the Tamil literature; there was widespread trade with Roman world and we actually come across the carvings of wine motif in the Kushāṇa art of Mathura. The impact of Roman art is also evident in the second century A.D. terracottas from the Deccan.[3] The famous colossal statues of Chashtana, Wima Kadphises and Kanishka from Mathura also corroborate the impact of foreign art traditions on Indian soil. Such influences[4] were varied in nature.

R. C. Agrawala

KṚITTIKĀ CULT IN EARLY INDIAN SCULPTURE

The antiquity of the Cult of Skanda Kārttikeya in Indian art can be traced back to very remote times. The epithet 'Kārttikeya' for Skanda Kumāra is derived from *Kṛittikās*, the six divine Mothers who nourished the babe Skanda through different stages. A number of literary references may be quoted in support of this theme. The discovery of a large number of post-Gupta (6th century) schist statues from Samalaji and Dungarpur-Udaipur regions, have got an important bearing on this problem. The Cult of Śiva-Śakti was very popular in Western India during that period. Besides this, we have a few sculptures of Skanda[5] and Mother and Child in the above lot. The latter group comprises of a few such images wherein we do notice the child either in the lap[6] of the Mother *(Aṅkadhātrī)* or holding her right hand;[7] the goddess who is represented without any weapons or her vehicle, has a prominent halo *(prabhā-maṇḍala)* behind her head. These divine females may be identified as *Kṛittikās*, i.e. divine nurses attending the child Skanda Kumāra. In the previous statue[8] from Samalaji, the Mother carries the long-handled rattle-toy in her right hand. A contemporary schist specimen from Tanesara[9] (Udaipur region) depicts the Mother carrying the child on her lap while the baby holds a similar toy in the right hand. Not only this, we come across more sculptures of Divine Mother with a child in the Tanesara hoard either suckling the baby and holding him in both her hands, i.e. *Kshīradhātrī*,[10] or playing with the child who touches her left leg[11] or holds her right hand[12] etc., i.e. *Kṛīḍādhātrī*.

The discovery of a Skanda statue itself in the Tanesara hoard is all the more interesting. It appears that all these images were under regular worship in some contemporary temple dedicated to Skanda and *Kṛittikās* at Tanesara, during the sixth century A.D. These particular female statues should not be simply described as those of *Bhadrā* or *Yaśodā* accordingly. Indian literature is replete with references to such nurses as *Aṅkadhātrī*, *Kshīradhātrī* and *Kṛīḍādhātrī*. Viewed in this light, some of the Gupta terracottas[13] may also be the representations of the *Kṛittikās*. The discovery of a somewhat similar statue from Mandasora[14] (M.P.) is equally interesting and so also the vehicle of Skanda-Kumāra standing behind; here also the Divine Mother has got a halo behind her head; she is devoid of any *āyudha* (weapon).

The peacock bird *(mayūra)* is conspicuous by its absence in the aforesaid statues from Samalaji and Tanesara. On the other hand, it may well be seen in those specimens wherein Skanda is associated with Pārvatī shown as *Skanda*

1 J. N. Banerjea, "The Phallic Emblem in Ancient and Medieval India," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, III, Calcutta 1935, pp. 36-44, fig. 2, pl. VII. Here we notice the 'horizontal' third eye mark on the forehead of Śiva and even prominent moustaches on the face as in the four-faced *Śiva-liṅgas* of Kushana workmanship, now preserved in the National Museum at New Delhi.

2 V. S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, p. 171 and figs. on p. 169.

3 M. N. Deshpande's paper "Roman Influence on the Terracottas of Satavahana Period," *International Conference of Archaeology—Summary of Papers*, New Delhi 1961, pp. 70-72.
Hand Book to the Centenary Exhibition of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi 1961, pl. XVI A, p. 51.

4 Also from Parthia in the Syrinx Player in Mathura art; V. S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, p. 172, fig. 101 on p. 169.

5 Skanda from Samalaji; U. P. Shah, "Sculptures from Samalaji and Roda," *Bulletin of Baroda Museum*, XIII, 1960—fig. 47 on p. 66;
Skanda of the same type from Tanesara, R. C. Agrawala, "Some more unpublished sculptures from Rajasthan," *Lalit Kalā*, No. 10, pl. XXII, fig. 18, p. 33.

6 U. P. Shah, *Bulletin of Baroda Museum*, XIII, fig. 28 on p. 47, now in Baroda Museum.

7 *Ibid.*, fig. 27 on p. 47, now in Udaipur Museum.

8 *Ibid.*, fig. 27 on p. 47.

9 Agrawala, *Lalit Kalā* No. 10, fig. 12 on pl. XXI. It is now preserved in Udaipur Museum.

10 *Ibid.*, fig. 10-11 on pl. XXI.

11 *Ibid.*, fig. 13 on pl. XXII.

12 *Ibid.*, fig. 14 on pl. XXII.

13 V. S. Agrawala, Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatra, *Ancient India*, IV, p. 47.

14 H. N. Dvivedi, *Gwalior Rājya Meñ Prāchin Mūrti Kalā* (Hindi), Gwalior, photograph next to fig. 69.

Fig. 1. Śiva's head, 3rd century A.D., National Museum, New Delhi.

Fig. 2. Left side of Fig. 1.

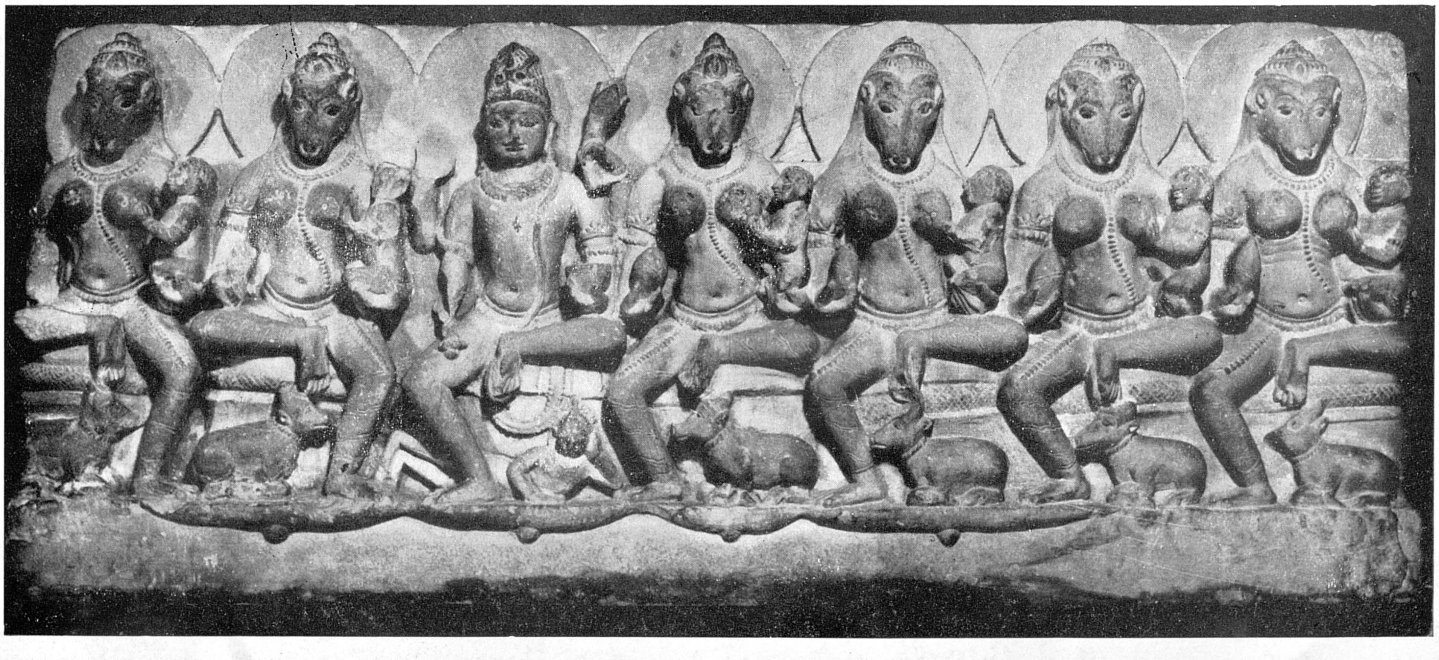


Fig. 3. *Kṛittikā* panel, 9-10th century A.D., State Museum, Lucknow.

Fig. 1. *Darbār* of Jehangīr, Collection of Shri Sita Ram Sah, Varanasi.

Fig. 2. Tānsen, detail of Fig. 1.

Fig. 1. A carving in Ardhanārīśvara temple, Mandi, last quarter of the 17th century A.D.

Fig. 2. Rājā Hirā Chand, stone carving from Bilaspur, 19th century A.D.

Mātā as in Śiva-Pārvatī relief from Tintoi[1] and *Ardhanārīśvara* statue from Jhalawar Museum.[2]

The State Museum at Lucknow preserves an interesting rectangular sandstone relief in the above reference (displayed as No. H. 33) datable to the 9-10th century A.D. (Pl. XXIII, Fig. 1). It contains seven figures, each seated in *lalitāsana* in a single row; each of them is also provided with a circular halo *(prabhāmaṇḍala)* behind the head. The third figure, from left, is that of four-armed Śiva with matted locks on the head, *śrīvatsa* mark on the chest, and the Apasmāra demon lying below his seat. All the remaining figures are those of goat-headed mothers seated in *lalitāsana*, with a bull couchant below. Each of them has got a child in her left lap, the latter touches the left breast of the mother. In the right hand of each of these mothers is to be seen a citron-fruit *(bījapūraka)*, symbol of prosperity and fertility. These six female figures may be identified as Divine Mothers i.e. *Kṛittikās*, whereas the child in the lap represents the babe Skanda-Kumāra. Of unusual iconographic interest is the goat's or ram's head for all the mothers; it may suggest association with Agni—the God of Fire. Skanda-Kumāra is also called as *Agni-sūnuḥ* and Agni has got a goat or ram as his vehicle. It appears that the sculptor has provided animal heads for these divine mothers because of Skanda's association with Agni as well while bull vehicle stands for *Śaiva* leanings. It recalls to our minds a Gandhara statue of Kārttikeya now preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum[3] at London; there also we notice the flames of fire on both the sides of the head of Skanda as in case of Agni himself. The existing stone panel[4] from Lucknow Museum deserves careful scrutiny by experts of Indian Art and Literature.

R. C. Agrawala

PORTRAITS OF TĀNSEN

In *Lalit Kalā* Nos. 1-2 a portrait of a Mughal courtier from the collection of the National Museum has been reproduced in colour (Pl. A) which the editors have identified as the portrait of Tānsen. The miniature originally belonged to the Udaipur Darbār and contains an identifying inscription in Hindi on its back. The editors have accepted the identification and have confirmed it by citing two other inscribed portraits of Tānsen, one from the Allahabad Museum (Pl. I, Fig. 3) and the other from the Prince of Wales Museum (Pl. I, Fig. 2). These three portraits show marked similarity and undoubtedly portray the same individual. But it is to be noted that the last two portraits are of much later date and hence too much reliance should not be put on their evidence. In fact, we can explain the similarity between the three portraits if we assume that the National Museum portrait served as a prototype to the Allahabad Museum and the Prince of Wales Museum portraits.

The National Museum portrait is undoubtedly a miniature of the Akbar period although the *jāmā* worn by the person depicted, posed a problem. The *Gherdār jāmā* is sometimes seen in Akbar period miniatures but does not reach the ankle as in this portrait study. But that the picture is a product of Akbar's atelier is definitely proved by another version of the same subject that occurs in a group of four in one of the leaves of the *Marakka-i-Golshan* in the Teheran Imperial Library.[1] Dr. Hajek rightly observes that "none of the courtiers here (all of them young) is identifiable with any of the known officials of Jahāngīr who appear in paintings between the years A.D. 1615 and 1625. The setting, too, of the group portrait is unusual and, for this period, improbable." Dr. Hajek puts a date *c.* A.D. 1600-1605 for the group-portrait which is most likely. The identification of the figure in which we are interested, however, remains uncertain. It is, therefore, doubtful if the National Museum portrait represents Tānsen. The dagger inserted into *kamarbandh* in both the portraits also raises suspicion. A dagger is more befitting a warrior than a *kalāvant*. It should be mentioned in this connection that in the Teheran portrait the man appears to be fair-complexioned whereas in the National Museum portrait he is dark. This incongruity is irreconcilable in view of the fact that both are works of Akbar period. The editors have referred to several "incorrect" identifications of Tānsen. Of these one, however, deserves reconsideration. We have in our mind the elderly musician accompanying a procession, a miniature of the Jehāngīr period whom Percy Brown identified as Tānsen.[2] We do not know the basis of Percy Brown's identification but that he was not entirely speculative becomes evident when we consider another inscribed portrait of Tānsen that is included in a group in a darbār scene of Jahāngīr. In this miniature, which belongs to the family collection of the late Sita Ram Sah of Varanasi, some fifty persons have been realistically portrayed and labelled with black ink (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 1). Tānsen is seen in the foreground to the extreme left with a musical instrument in the hand (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 2). There is remarkable similarity between this figure and the elderly musician in the processional scene. If this portrait is authentic—and there is no reason why it should not be—then we arrive at two important conclusions first, Tānsen was alive till *c.* A.D. 1610, the date of this picture; second, the National Museum portrait and its Teheran counterpart do not represent Tānsen but some other person who must be a well-known figure in Akbar's court.

Hiren Mukherjee

Editors' Note: Not much reliance can be placed on later day labels in black ink.

Asst. Editor's Note: According to the traditional usage it is unlikely that a musician of Tānsen's status carries the *Tānpurā* himself in the court.

1 U. P. Shah, *Bulletin of Baroda Museum*, XIII, fig. 52 on p. 75.

2 *Ibid.*, fig. 11 on p. 19.

3 See my paper under publication in East & West, Rome.

4 Photograph courtesy Director, State Museum, Lucknow, and Director, American Academy, Varanasi. The panel measures 15″×36″; it is not damaged at all.

1 L. Hajek, *Indian Miniatures of the Mughal School*, London 1960, Pl. 21 (see Figure to the left in the upper half portion).

2 Percy Brown, *Indian Paintings under the Mughals*, Oxford 1924, Pl. LXII.

CARVINGS FROM MANDI AND BILASPUR

Our knowledge about the origin of Pahārī painting is still not definite. Unless inscriptions containing dates or the names of identifiable historical persons in the role of patrons come to light, even paintings which appear to be early cannot be assigned to a definite period. Inscribed portraits though commonly available are not satisfactory for our purpose as many of them can without question be considered as later copies specially the portraits of the *rājās* who ruled in the seventeenth century A.D. However, the study of temples or other ancient buildings having carvings in low relief in the manner of paintings, can be of assistance in this direction since we can often be reasonably sure of the period to which such structures belong, particularly if they bear inscriptions. Both Karl Khandalavala and Dr. Hermann Goetz have referred to such carvings in connection with the study of Pahārī painting and its origins. The most important of such carvings are to be found in the ruined temple in the Nurpur Fort, and are perhaps the earliest stone carvings in the Hills which have some resemblance to paintings. It must have been difficult to adopt this graphic style to the technique of stone carving and from Nurpur it appears that the new style being the earliest attempt of its kind was in an experimental stage. A detailed study of this important temple may prove quite revealing in relation to the study of Pahārī painting. To appreciate the need for this type of study I would like to draw attention to two carvings one from the temple of Ardhanārīśvara at Mandi Town (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 1) and the other a carved stone slab from Bilaspur (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 2). It is generally thought that painting activity at Mandi town started only in the middle of the eighteenth century. Pl. XXIV, Fig. 1, however, shows a horseman attacking a wild boar with a spear and on the other side a footman is shown holding a heavy club or a double-handed sword which he has raised aloft to strike down the beast with his full strength. The style employed for the carving as well as its theme seems to be an adaptation from some painting. I noticed only two panels in this style in the temple. Both of them are on the proper left outer wall of the *maṇḍapa* not much above the ground. The temple most probably belongs to the last quarter of the seventeenth century and must have been constructed during the early part of the reign of Rājā Sidh Sen (A.D. 1684-1717). The temples known as Sidh-Gaṇesh and Sidhbhadra possess a dome and were probably built by the *Rājā* in the later period of his reign. The Ardhanārīśvara temple is in the style of other ancient temples in Mandi and Rājā Sidh Sen's unusual interest in *Tantra* was, it seems, responsible for the erection of this shrine dedicated to Śiva in his dual aspect of male and female. Other temples in Mandi town which are known to belong to an earlier period than the Ardhanārīśvara temple do not possess carvings which follow the style of paintings. Accordingly this figure may possibly afford evidence of the existence of painting activities at Maṇdi before or at the time of the construction of this temple. In this connection it is important to remember that various kinds of work such as painting, woodcarving, metal work, etc. was being done by a single artisan. A painter could be a carpenter as has been proved by an inscription on a painting in the Bhuri Singh Museum, Chamba (*Lalit Kalā*, No. 13, p. 50). In the Chāmuṇḍā temple at Devi Kothi village in Chamba District an inscription incised on wood mentions the names of workmen including the supervisory staff employed for the construction of the temple. A large number of carved wooden panels in the style of Pahārī painting and paintings themselves on the walls of the temple were probably the work of the same men and they must have been painter-carpenters. If we can predicate the existence of painting activity at Mandi in the late 17th century and even earlier at Nurpur, in view of the style of the carvings of the ruined temple at this site, we may assume that this activity did not take long time to reach the courts of other hill *Rājās*.

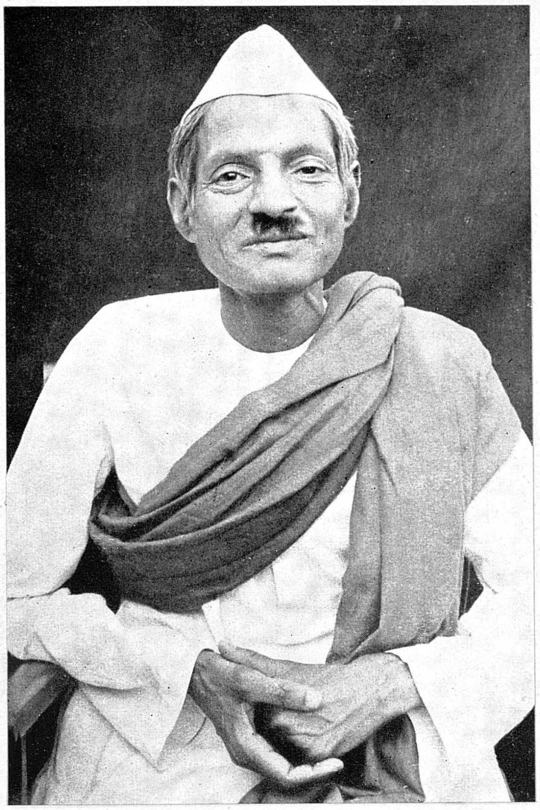
The slab (Pl. XXIV, Fig. 2) shows Rājā Hira Chand of Bilaspur (A.D. 1857-82). It is significant that carvings on stone continued to be influenced by the changing styles of painting. The treatment of face in this slab may be noted. The full round cheeks are shown in high relief. By the middle of the nineteenth century under Western influence the technique of shading to create the impression of volume in painting had been widely adopted and we find it in Sikh paintings. The same objective is sought to be achieved in the figure reproduced here. By its side there was another slab outside the Lakshmīnārāyaṇa temple showing a prince with his queen surrounded by maid servants. It gave the impression of a painting in the Basohli style though with marked Mughal influence. The slab, however, is not inscribed and unfortunately a good part of it has been smeared with coaltar.

Vishva Chandra Ohri

OBITUARY

SHRI VASUDEVA SHARAN AGRAWALA

In the death of Vasudeva Sharan Agrawala, India has lost one of the greatest Indologists of our times. Deeply learned in Vedic lore he pioneered the study of the growth of early Indian art motifs from the verses of the Vedic hymns and two of his last works "The Great Mahādev" and "The Thousand Syllabled Speech" will ever remain a tribute to his profound scholarship and insight. He was also the greatest living authority on the Sunga, Kushana and Gupta art of Mathura and in fact that was his first love. He continued the work of Vogel in this field and his various catalogues of the collections of early sculpture in the Mathura and Lucknow Museums together with numerous articles in learned journals form the standard body of writings on these phases of Indian sculpture. His extensive knowledge of Sanskrit and Prakrit also enabled him to interpret many sculptural scenes in relation to literary compositions such as the poems and plays of Kālidāsa and the works of Bāṇa and other authors. To him sculpture and painting were vital manifestations of the composite cultural achievement of the period in which they produced and he ever sought to equate them with remarkable success to the literature, religious thought, social life and customs, pastimes, festivals and occupations of the age to which they belonged. No writer has done such extensive research into the Sanskrit nomenclature for various art forms and motifs. Fortunately he was something of a stylist and his simple yet effective phrasing in English made most of his work very readable indeed, even when dealing with rather obstruse concepts and ideas. When as a Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey he was in charge of building up the collections of the National Museum, which had still to be constructed, he got the Government with the co-operation of his department to associate Rai Krishnadasa, Motichandra and myself with him in that task. It became a great objective in his life and he made it a great objective in ours during the years that we worked together. Treasure after treasure was acquired and thus the foundations of today's National Museum collections were laid. Later he left the Survey and spent his remaining years at the Banaras Hindu University where he became the Professor and Head of the Department of Art and Architecture imparting his unique knowledge to all who cared to learn at his feet. But his health was failing and he was a difficult patient. Not so long before his death we four met once more at Banaras and went together to Sasaram which he had never visited. Feeble though he was, it was touching to see his enthusiasm at the sight of this incomparable masoleum. I did not meet him again, but the memories of many years have remained.



V. S. Agrawala

"How can the night with its long hours be reduced to a moment?"

Karl Khandalavala

KANGRA PAINTINGS OF THE BIHARI SAT SAI, by M. S. Randhawa. National Museum, New Delhi 1966. Price Rs. 40.

This book illustrates a series of Kangra paintings of the *Bihari Sat Sai* in the collections of the Mahārāja of Tehri-Garhwal and the late N. C. Mehta. The latter group is now in the Municipal Museum at Ahmedabad. The series was brought to light by the late N. C. Mehta who published a few therefrom into his *Studies in Indian Painting* and later on one more was published by the reviewer in his *Pahārī Miniature Painting*. Dr. Randhawa has now published seventeen of this series in colour and seven in monochrome along with a few sketches of this or a closely related series. Thus the series can be studied more elaborately than ever before and we are grateful to Dr. Randhawa for his enthusiasm and his untiring efforts to reproduce material from royal collections which only his personal contact could have secured for publication.

The author adopts the present reviewer's theory that this series belongs to Kangra and not to Garhwal. It must be one of the sets, such as the *Gīta Govinda,* which it seems were given as a dowry when the two sisters of the refugee prince Anirudha Chand of Kangra were married into the royal house of Tehri-Garhwal. Dr. Randhawa is in error in saying that the above mentioned *Gīta Govinda* series bears a colophon with the name of the artist as Māṇaku. It bears no colophon at all of its own but merely copies the colophon of an earlier Basohli *Gīta Govinda* series dated A.D. 1730, which mentions a patroness named Māṇaku and not an artist of that name. Again while the landscape in the *Gīta Govinda* set does not point to its being painted at any place in particular, the present *Sat Sai* series has certain features which could suggest Kangra as its locale, particularly the drawing Fig. 16 which unmistakably depicts the Moriyan Mahal range as seen in the distance from Tira. The architecture in Pl. X and Figs. 3 and 7 also appears to have been adopted from the palace architecture of Sujanpur-Tira or Alampur. The author surmises that the *Sat Sai* series was painted about A.D. 1805 but a more likely date is A.D. 1790-1800. So also the author's suggestion that Kaushalā (Kushan Lāl), son of Māṇak of the famous Seu family, was the painter of the series does not seem to have any basis. It is more likely to be the work of another of Sansār Chand's artists named Fattu who painted "Ladies Playing Pachisi" reproduced in colour in Randhawa's *Kangra Valley Painting*, Pl. 17 and in the reviewer's *Pahārī Miniature Painting*, Fig. 236. Not only are the female types of the *Sat Sai* paintings akin to the types painted by Fattu in his abovementioned picture but even the format is the same and similar mannerisms occur. For instance, compare the trees in Fattu's painting with those in Fig. 6 of the *Sat Sai* where even their placement in the composition is the same as in Fattu's miniature. So also the distant landscape in Fattu's painting is to be found in similar form in several of the *Sat Sai* series. Though not to be compared with the great *Bhāgavata* series and the *Gīta Govinda* series, the *Sat Sai* is a very pleasing production even if somewhat mannerised and limited in theme. In fact it displays some of the polished artificiality of the *Sat Sai* verses themselves and only once do we find the joy of movement as in Plate II, which contrasts pleasantly with the usually static compositions of the series. The book is produced very neatly but the colour reproductions could have been more accurate and the black and white plates more lively in tone.

K.J.K.

KANGRA PAINTINGS OF THE GITA GOVINDA, by M. S. Randhawa. National Museum, New Delhi. Price Rs. 50.

This beautifully produced album illustrates in colour twenty paintings from the wellknown *Gīta Govinda* series belonging to the Tehri Garhwal Darbār. There are also several monochrome illustrations from the same set. The text is by Dr. Randhawa and there is an introduction by W. G. Archer. After giving all the wellknown facts relating to Jayadev and narrating the story of the poems, the author deals with the paintings in Chapter II. He follows the theory of the reviewer that the paintings belong to the Kangra Kalam and must have given as a dowry to Tehri Garhwal. He ascribes them to the period A.D. 1790–A.D. 1805 which, however, appears to be too late. This series was first brought to light by the late N. C. Mehta who not unnaturally thought they were painted in Tehri Garhwal. But as the reviewer has shown in his *Pahārī Miniature Painting*, they are not products of the Garhwal school. Though several paintings from this series have been reproduced before, Randhawa has done well in publishing as many as twenty in colour and several in monochrome. Twelve of the colour plates are from the colour blocks of the Lalit Kalā Akademi, used in the Akademi's Portfolios Nos. 2 and 3 which are also reviewed in the present issue. The text of the *Gīta Govinda* as well as the verses on the reverse of each painting are included in the volume. The verses describing each painting are translated into prosaic English. It is a pity that there is no really good translation of the *Gīta Govinda* which, while retaining accuracy, succeeds at the time in capturing the lilt of Jayadeva's verse. George Keyt made an attempt in this direction but the translation is very free though something of the melody has been captured. Mr. Archer's Introduction deals with only one topic, namely the wellknown controversial colophon which appears on the Basohli *Gīta Govinda* series of A.D. 1730 and which was again copied onto the present series. Mr. Archer is not in agreement with the generally accepted interpretation, namely that the colophon refers to the patroness of the series named Māṇaku and not to a painter of that name. In so far as his in-

terpretation is contrary to that of Dr. P. V. Kane, regarded as the greatest living Sanskritist, and also to that of the late N. P. Chakravarti, an epigraphist of high repute, it is for scholars of Sanskrit to judge if there be any merit in the arguments presented by Mr. Archer. Mr. Archer, apparently rather diffident about his interpretation, has sought to support his contention by asserting that Māṇa*ku* is a male name and that the female variant would be Māṇa*ko*. But this can be demonstrated to be fallacious. A Mandi princess has even today a Pahari maid servant named Dev*ku* and quite a list of Pahari female names ending in *ku* can be compiled. Moreover, a portrait of Māṇak himself now in the National Museum is inscribed Māṇa*ko*.

The copying of the Basohli series colophon onto the present series four to five decades later really proves nothing and leads to no conclusions save that if it was copied with the object of honouring anyone it would be more natural to honour the devotee-patroness of the series of A.D. 1730 who herself composed or got the verse composed in Mālinī metre than to honour a lowly painter. The substance of the verse is that this female devotee of Vishṇu got the *Gīta Govinda* beautifully illustrated. The verse is concerned with the devotee and not the painter and yet we are asked by Mr. Archer to believe that the devotee remained nameless though the object of the inscription was to praise the devotee. As to Mālinī being the devotee's name even Dr. Raghu Vir, cited by Mr. Randhawa, could not apparently persuade himself to agree with this untenable suggestion. Though Archer facetiously remarks, "How greatly we shall miss this talented lady;" the fact remains that even on bare probabilities she is still very much in the picture apart from the circumstance that few indeed would differ from Dr. Kane and Dr. Chakravarti as far as the interpretation of a Sanskrit verse is concerned. But whether Māṇa*ku* be the patroness of the Basohli *Gīta Govinda* series or the painter thereof, it is quite a lopsided attitude to devote seventeen large sized pages to a comparatively insignificant controversy. The really important part of the inscription is the date of the Basohli series namely A.D. 1730 and that is beyond dispute. Most of the confusion in the minds of Mr. Archer and Mr. Randhawa has no doubt been caused by the fact that at least one if not more Pahārī artists known to us bore the name Māṇa*ku*. Thus the inscription becomes in the hands of Mr. Archer and Mr. Randhawa a procrustean bed on which one or the other of these Māṇa*kus* is made to lie. But since there can be no doubt whatever that Māṇa*ku* is also a female name we need not be obsessed by our knowledge that there were Pahārī artists who bore the name Māṇa*ku*.

Archer suggests a date between A.D. 1778 and 1790 for the series. In this connection Douglas Barrett's theory of an earlier date must be taken also into consideration. In the absence of definite evidence we may say that any date between A.D. 1760 and A.D. 1780 is possible. Someday we may discover adequate evidence for more accurate dating. So also with regard to the provenance of this series, it may have been painted at the Guler court or in the artist's village home or at the Kangra court. If the series was painted in Kangra it is fairly certain that it was painted by a Guler artist who migrated to the Kangra court. In any event there is nothing in the landscape or architecture to indicate where it was painted. Though the reviewer believes that the artist of the series was Māṇak, son of Pandit Seu, there is no positive proof of that fact. However, it can hardly be doubted that the series was painted by a member of Seu's family which produced the finest artists of the Hills.

From the point of view of book production this is the best publication brought out by the National Museum and the printers are to be congratulated on the result.

K.J.K.

AJANTA MURALS, Edited by A. Ghosh, Director General of Archaeology in India, with text by A. Ghosh, M. N. Deshpande, Ingrid Aall and Dr. B. B. Lal. Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1967. Price Rs. 80. (Distributor, Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, New Delhi-6.)

For those who do not possess the four magnificent volumes of Yazdani, there can be no better book on Ajanta than the one under review. It has eighty-five plates in colour which are very satisfactory, considering the known difficulties in obtaining good colour reproductions of these wall paintings and Mr. S. G. Tiwari who is responsible for the colour photographs (directly from the originals), has indeed done a good job of work. In addition there are sixteen full-sized monochrome reproductions of sculptures and twenty line drawings which depict the entire composition from which each of the details illustrated in the colour plates has been taken. The Archaeological Survey and A. Ghosh have reason to be proud of this publication.

In the introduction, Ghosh gives a short but precise account of the caves and all the efforts made to copy and study the paintings. Deshpande deals with the historical perspective, the caves, their sculptures and their murals and no one better could have been found for the task with his extensive knowledge of the Western Indian cave shrines to be found in Maharashtra. Dr. Lal deals with the composition and technique of the murals, a subject of no inconsiderable interest to serious students of early Indian wall painting, while Ingrid Aall has a chapter on the art of the murals. She has several interesting things to say but we see little reason for the observation that the artists were all men probably living in great isolation and under a severe discipline communicating with none else but themselves, monks and dedicated artists. Surely, if one thing is clear at Ajanta it is that the paintings are the work of highly skilled and experienced hereditary guild-craftsmen who were equally at home in painting religious scenes on the walls of monastic dwellings as in decorating the walls of palaces and mansions with a variety of subject matter including most probably sensuous scenes also. May be a stray monk here or there with knowledge of drawing and painting rendered some assistance on occasion, but Ajanta is not the work of casual painters. It is the work of men with generations of hereditary skill behind them. No doubt, the work was at all times supervised by a *navakarmika* belonging to the Buddhist order and the compositions required were probably indicated by him, but those who executed them were guild-craftsmen working under a

guild-master who, it is not unlikely, was in the service of the Vākātaka rulers along with the artisans under his control. It is well to remember in this connection the inscription at Sanchi—

Rāno Sīri Sātakaṇisa, āvesanisa Vāsiṭhiputasa Ānamadasa dānam.

If there was any isolation it was only incidental to the painters being away from their homes on the site, and as to discipline it could at the most have been professional discipline unrelated to Buddhism. In fact the artists may not have been Buddhists at all but adherents of another faith who could with equal competence depict scenes whether from the *Rāmāyaṇa* or from the *Jātakas* depending on what was required by those who commissioned them. We have always regarded the theory of the monk-painters of Ajanta as a myth. A dominant feature of the murals is their *plasticity* and though Ingrid Aall does mention three dimensional effects, it is something more subtle than that which informs these masterpieces. It is achieved it seems by the extraordinary skill of the artists in the moulding of limbs and objects just with a variety of brush strokes, the skillful juxtaposition of varying nuances of colour, bold effects of framing heads against pronounced masses of hair, the placement of figures one against another, and the positioning of faces, bodies and limbs. But in truth it defies any extensive analysis. This is not meant to be a criticism of Ingrid Aall's chapter which is for the most part an intelligent appraisement of the art of these murals. Shri Deshpande's three chapters on the historical perspective, the sculptures and the murals are models of brevity and precise information presented in a manner which makes for very easy reading and understanding even by laymen. Shri Deshpande's scholarship and mastery over his subject is evident throughout without any form of pedantry. A very interesting identification made by him for the first time is that of the female figure kneeling before the Buddha (Pl. B) is Ambapāli. One point which we find difficult to agree with is that the Rāmeśvara Cave at Ellora belongs to the beginning of the seventh century. We regard it as late Vākātaka or immediate post Vākātaka and not very much later than Cave XXVI at Ajanta. Incidentally the caption to Pl. L reads "Cave 29". It should be "Cave 26". It is, however, correctly mentioned in the list of illustrations and also in the text. A very discerning observation of Shri Deshpande is that the influence of the Sarnath school is apparent in the sculptured decoration introduced during the fifth and sixth centuries at several centres in the Deccan and particularly in some caves at Kanheri. This viewpoint had not been adequately appreciated in estimating the influence of Gupta art on the art of the Deccan. That Caves I and II at Ajanta also belong to the late Vākātaka period is accepted by Deshpande and this fact can no longer be a matter of dispute. Therefore, the theory of the paintings in Caves I and II representing a much later and decadent style compared to those of Caves XVI and XVII is no longer tenable. Its correctness was often doubted though elaborated upon by Dr. Goetz and other writers. The differences in style such as there be are due only to differences of treatment between different guilds of painters. To us there is no hint of decadence in Caves I and II even if the work is at times more mannered. Dr. Lal's chapter on the technique of Ajanta should not be missed by any reader interested in these murals for it is an authoritative exposition on matters which interest many visitors to the caves.

K.J.K.

THE ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF AIHOLE, by R. S. Gupte. D. B. Taraporevala & Sons India Private Ltd., Bombay, 1967. Price Rs. 90.

The site of Aihole has been attracting increasing attention amongst scholars and lovers of Indian art. But if one visits Aihole one must also visit Badami and Pattadakal which are not distant therefrom. These three sites form one complex in the development of early Western Chālukyan art. Aihole is in many ways the cradle of Indian temple architecture and a book devoted to this site alone has long been overdue. Cousen's book on Chālukyan temples has long been out of print and moreover it is not easy to handle nor it is copiously illustrated as the publication under review. The present volume fulfils the need of a short history of the kings who ruled in this part of country and detailed descriptions of each of the temples of Aihole. While dealing with the temples, the sculptures are also described and their iconography indicated. Nobody really interested in this site should visit it without taking a copy of this book along as then only will the visitor be able to appreciate all the monuments there to the fullest. This book not only supplies all the basic material which scholars may desire to utilize and expand upon, according to their own special interests, but it also fulfils the requirement of an excellent and elaborate guide book for those who visit Aihole more for the appreciation of its masterpieces than for a study of art history. One hundred and forty good photographs cover a wide range of the material pertaining to the site and there are several plans of important temples.

We hope the publishers will bring out more publications of this nature which are attractive, copiously illustrated and do not go into long controversies. Controversies are meant for scholars only, but have no place in a publication of this nature, for they would detract from its continuity and simplicity of presentation.

K.J.K.

SHRI MAHĀVĪR JAINA VIDYĀLAYA GOLDEN JUBILEE VOLUME. Published by Mahavir Jaina Vidyalaya, Gowalia Tank, Bombay 29, 1968. Price Rs. 35/-.

This volume is in two parts namely articles in Gujerati and in English. It is full of very interesting material even for those who can only tackle the English section. The most important article in the volume is "*New Documents of Jaina Painting*" by Dr. Moti Chandra and Umakant P. Shah. This is indeed a valuable contribution for though several of the MSS illustrated therein are known to scholars, there are also several manuscripts dealt with which were hitherto un-

known. The most notable of these is a *Kalpasūtra* painted at Patan dated A.D. 1501 in the style of the famous Devasāno Pāḍo example. The discovery of a second MS. in this style is indeed an event of major importance for the study of Jain painting and the authors hope to publish this MS. in greater detail later on. It appears on preliminary examination of photos to be a little later than the Devasāno Pāḍo *Kalpasūtra* which was painted at Gandhar near Broach but it is possible that the style was more widespread than it has hitherto been thought to be. Another MS., namely *Upadeśamālā* of the early 18th century A.D. contains most delightful miniatures. It is likely, it comes from Sirohi, judging by the illustrations of a dated *Vijñaptipatra* painted there in A.D. 1725 and one of which was published in colour by the present reviewer many years ago in the Gujerati journal *Kumār*. This *Upadeśamālā* also belongs to the Devasāno Pāḍo Bhaṇḍār.

That Gujerat was a veritable stronghold of the Jain style is evident from the fact that we have illustrated MSS from Patan, Surat, Gandhar Bandar, Vadnagar, Cambay, Matar, Ahmedabad, Anjar, and Vyaghrasenpura. It is thus not without reason that the late N. C. Mehta preferred to call it the "Gujerati Style" rather than the "Western Indian Style", though undoubtedly it also spread to Rajasthan and even to Mandu and to the east as far as Jaunpur. The *Kālaka-kathā* from Mandu in Muni Punyavijayaji's collection is by now fairly well known and should be dated *circa* 1435-1440 as it is in the same style as the National Museum's *Kalpasūtra* from Mandu dated A.D. 1439 published by Dr. Moti Chandra and the reviewer in *Lālit Kalā* No. 6. Amongst the other articles of interest are *Jainism in Ancient Bengal* by R. C. Majumdar; *Jain Sculpture of the Gupta Age in the State Museum, Lucknow* by R. C. Sharma, and *Some Inscriptions and Images on Mount Satrunjaya* by A. P. Shah, in which a beautiful bronze image (his Fig. 5) of a Jina is illustrated as once being in one of the temples on the hill, but tragically it is no more to be found there. *Ancient Indian Palace Architecture* by the late Dr. V. S. Agrawala has all the erudition for which this great scholar was so famous. Krishna Deva deals with the Mala Devi Temple at Gayaraspur the shrines at which place are well worth a visit. H. K. Prasad writes on the Jaina bronzes in the Patna Museum from Chausa and the much later images from Manbhum district. The dating of the Chausa bronzes requires very careful consideration. What the author calls the third group and what is usually regarded as Gupta appears more likely to belong to the end of the Kushāṇa-Gupta transition style about the middle of the 4th century A.D. rather than to the phase of full fledged Gupta art. The *Dharmachakra* and *Kalpavṛiksha* refered to as the first group may be somewhat later than the Śuṅga period while what the author calls the second group can certainly be ascribed to the Kushāṇa period. *Some Early Jain temples in Western India*, by M. A. Dhaky is a useful study of several shrines not so well known but possessing stylistic features full of interest and some very attractive sculptural friezes as at Ghanerav. The sponsors of the volume are to be congratulated on their initiative in including so much material of cultural value pertaining to Jainism. All the photographs are fortunately very satisfactory and the article on Jain manuscripts includes several colour plates which enable those who have not seen the originals to have an idea of their unusually rich colouring.

K.J.K.

KHAJURAHO, by Vidya Prakash. D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Private Ltd. Bombay 1967. Price Rs. 65/-.

After a spate of books on Khajuraho which stress the erotic aspects of the temple sculptures at this site, it is refreshing to find a book which is more concerned with Khajuraho as a social document. The author and the publisher are to be congratulated for a desire to present these world famous temples in a truer perspective than has hitherto been done. Love scenes and beautiful maidens can by repetition become cloying but if looked at as a documentary in stone of the age to which they belong, they can bring much added enjoyment both to the casual visitor as well as to the student of Indian sculpture. A brief history of the rulers of Khajuraho is followed by a short description of the temples and then follows an elaborate analysis with sketches and photos of dress, ornaments, and cosmetics used while other aspects of the life of the people such as music and dancing, games and amusements are also dealt with. Thereafter comes an analysis of the warfare of the period, of industrial arts and professions, furniture, household articles and domestic life. Naturally the author deals with the much debated subject of the religious conditions and beliefs that gave rise to these monuments and the erotic background of the sculptures. Here the author is at pains to show how the *Kāmasūtra* and other treatises on erotics influenced the sculptures and the poses and there is no doubt about the correctness of this viewpoint. We cannot, however, agree with the theory of "picture positions" to account for certain fantastic poses. The author's appraisal is a very practical one and he rightly does not indulge in any attempt to try and sublimate these sculptures. They reflect, he suggests, a widespread interest in erotics in that period, fostered by literature and accepted both as a theme of study and also as a practical code for love-union. Though he adverts to the Kaula-Kapalika sects he does not emphasize the dominant role which we believe they played in having the decoration of these temples executed in a certain manner with a certain purpose. The book is profusely and excellently illustrated not with a view to cull the most lascivious scenes but in order to illustrate every point made by the author. Anyone interested in Khajuraho or desiring to view it, should peruse this book for it has a lot of material both for study and for thought.

K.J.K.

CHAMBA PAINTING. M. S. Randhawa. Lalit Kalā Akademi. Delhi 1967. Price Rs. 21/-.

This book, the latest in the Lalit Kalā Series of Indian Art,

is a critical summary of all that has been said about miniature painting in Chamba together with many original and stimulating contributions by the author himself. The writing, as always with M. S. Randhawa, is clear and elegant. The eleven colour reproductions maintain the very high standard of the earlier books in the series.

Sri Randhawa divides the history of Chamba painting into four periods. From his Basohli Phase (*circa* A.D. 1720-1764) a few important documents have survived. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* series in the Bhuri Singh Museum dated A.D. 1758 (Fig. 3) and a good portrait of Umed Singh (A.D. 1748-1764) (Fig. 2) in the same museum represent a late, distinctive version of the Basohli Style, attractive in drawing and colour but a little prosaic. One well-known picture, the portrait of Ugar Singh (A.D. 1720-1735) in the Victoria and Albert Museum, may be accepted as representing Chamba painting in the first half of the century. Other candidates exist in the National Museum.

Sri Randhawa's second period is what he calls the Guler-Chamba Phase (A.D. 1770-1808). Here I part company with him. He accepts the now famous portrait of "Raj Singh watching a dancer" in the late N. C. Mehta's collection as about A.D. 1770. He also believes, again following Karl Khandalavala, that the Ushā-Aniruddha series (Plate XI), now in the National Museum but acquired from the Chamba Darbar, is to be dated about A.D. 1775 and was probably painted in Chamba. Now the portrait of Rāj Singh illustrates the exact moment of transition, or rather of decline, from the great Guler or pre-Kangra Style (about A.D. 1740-1770) to the Kangra Style (about A.D. 1770-1820). I have suggested that the Kangra Style retained something of the quality of the previous period for about ten years. This is supported by the attractive Ushā-Aniruddha series and by the excellent portrait of Rāj Singh (Plate I) in the collection of Jagdish Mittal, which shows that ruler with a closely trimmed beard and may be dated about A.D. 1780. But what of the Guler Style at Chamba? There are surely two firm candidates in this book, a Rukmiṇī-Haraṇa series (Plates III and IV) and a Sudāmā series (Plates V and VI). These pictures are dated by Sri Randhawa to A.D. 1780-1790, later than the Ushā-Aniruddha series. I do not see how this is possible: they clearly belong to the Guler Style and should be dated A.D. 1765-1770. If the attribution to Chamba is correct — both series belong to the original collections of the Chamba court and the Sudāmā series is distinctive in colour and design within the Guler Style — we shall have to accept that the Guler Style came late to Chamba, which, on present evidence, retained until the early sixties of the 18th century A.D. a version of the Basohli Style, which probably continued to be employed by some "old-fashioned" artists for two or three decades.

Painting in the latter part of Rāj Singh's reign — the Louvre portrait, for example — shows the Kangra Style at its usual level of competence. In the reign of Jit Singh (A.D. 1794-1808) the decline was rapid (Plates II and VII-X). As the author says the paintings of his Sikh Phase (A.D. 1820-1850) are dull and crude with only an occasional flash of charm (Fig. 8). The "revival" of painting in Chamba in the reign of Śrī Singh (A.D. 1844-1870) is not illustrated but could prove interesting to historians of 19th century A.D. art.

D.B.

LALIT KALĀ SERIES PORTFOLIO NO. 1. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa in Kangra Painting. Text by Karl Khandalavala. Lalit Kalā Akademi, New Delhi. Price Rs. 12/-.

LALIT KALĀ SERIES PORTFOLIOS NOS. 2 AND 3. Gīta Govinda. Text by Dr. Moti Chandra. Lalit Kalā Akademi, New Delhi. Price Rs. 12/- each.

It was a good idea of the Lalit Kalā Akademi to issue the above three portfolios. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* portfolio contains four plates of this series already published by the Akademi in its *Kṛishṇa Legend* now out of print and two new plates have been included, one from the collection of Shri Kasturbhai Lalbhai of Ahmedabad (Pl. IV) and the other from that of F. D. Wadia (Pl. V). Each of the two *Gīta Govinda* portfolios contains six illustrations from the series in the collection of the Maharaja of Tehri-Garhwal and the blocks of which we are informed were loaned by the Akademi to the National Museum, New Delhi, for publication in its album *Gīta Govinda* by Dr. Randhawa. One would have to be a rich man to own such paintings nowadays, but these excellent reproductions will provide no mean substitute for the student to hang on the walls of his room or, better still, with the text of the *Purāṇa* or of Jayadeva's poem beside him, slowly to leaf through as if they were the pages of the original manuscript. Each portfolio contains a short but good introduction and the notes to the plates of the *Gīta Govinda* portfolios (Nos. 2 and 3) give the first line of the text which the painting illustrates in facsimile as it appears on the reverse of each painting.

The date and provenance of these two famous series continue to be debated. Mr. Khandalavala's cautious conclusion is that the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* could have been painted any time between 1765 and A.D. 1795 at Guler, Kangra or Chamba. He affirms, however, that its painters almost certainly belonged to the family of Pandit Seu. Dr. Moti Chandra is inclined to date the *Gīta Govinda* to about A.D. 1775, adding "whether the series was painted in Guler or in Kangra is debatable." He quotes Mr. Khandalavala's view that this series was probably executed by the Guler painter Māṇak, the son of Pandit Seu, "who latterly appears to have been in the service of Sansar Chand of Kangra." Both scholars rightly, in my opinion, consider the colophon of this series to be a copy of that in the A.D. 1730 Basohli style *Gīta Govinda* and to have therefore no direct relevance to the problem. It should be added that the Māṇaku in this colophon is for Mr. Khandalavala not the painter of the A.D. 1730 Basohli style *Gīta Govinda* but the lady who commissioned it. I have dated both series to about 1760 to A.D. 1765, including both in my Guler style. I have supported no provenance, though Guler under Govardhan Chand or Kangra under Ghamand Chand are on present evidence perhaps the strongest candidates; nor have I seen any reason to associate an artist Māṇak with the *Gīta*

அரசு தொல் பொருள் ஆய்வுத்துறை நூலகம்-சென்னை
எண் 7347
தேதி

Govinda series. The *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* series has no inscriptions to suggest who painted it. These differences about a few decades and a name are not art-historians' quibbles but involve entirely different interpretations of the development of Pahārī painting in the second half of the 18th century A.D. and of the role of Sansār Chand of Kangra as patron.

The real problem has for sometime been obscured by the fact that a page of this *Gīta Govinda* series with a circular painting of Kṛishṇa and Rādhā on a terrace bears an inscription in gold on a blue ground which is identical, save for small and perhaps significant additions, with a gold inscription on an illustrated page of another famous *Gīta Govinda* series in Basohli style. There are at least two interpretations of the inscription but all students agree that it contains the date V.S. 1787 (A.D. 1730). There are, one would suppose, only two possible explanations for the same inscription appearing on two series. Either the inscription is wholly valid for both series or the inscription is valid for one series only and was copied in ignorance or error or with intent to deceive on to the other. Rai Krishnadas alone supports the former explanation. I believe, as do most students, that the date (A.D. 1730) can refer only to the Basohli style series and that the inscription on the series under discussion is therefore a copy, and, being a copy, wholly invalid. Mr. Archer, however, finds it possible to believe that the inscription which applies absolutely to the Basohli style series was deliberately copied on to Tehri-Garhwal series to convey not what it says but something or a little of what it says. The inscription says, if we accept the interpretation of the Sanskritists on whom Mr. Archer relies that a lady patron, either named Mālinī or skilled in the Mālinī metre, or both, commissioned a painter Māṇak to execute a *Gīta Govinda* series in A.D. 1730. Mr. Archer believes, as do we all, that this interpretation, if correct, would apply absolutely to the Basohli style series. Mr. Archer further believes that a scribe deliberately used this inscription, *without changing the date*, to convey that our series (Portfolios 2 and 3) executed some fifty years later, was painted by the same artist and, if not for the same patron, for another lady of the same name or talents or both. Dr. Randhawa goes much further. He appears to believe that a scribe deliberately used this inscription, *without changing the date*, to convey that our series (Portfolios 2 and 3), executed sixty to seventy-five years later, was painted not for the lady patron but for Sansār Chand of Kangra and not by the artist Māṇak of the A.D. 1730 series but by another artist of the same name. Mr. Archer's Māṇak and Dr. Randhawa's later Māṇak, but not his earlier, is the son of Pandit Seu.

I doubt that either view calls for comment, but, in the light of Mr. Archer's Introduction to Dr. Randhawa's book, it does seem necessary briefly to reiterate the facts, as we know them, concerning Pandit Seu and his two sons Māṇak and Nainsukh. The sole evidence that Seu settled in Guler about A.D. 1720-30 seems to be a living descendant recounting family history to Dr. Randhawa, possibly correctly but almost two hundred and fifty years after the event. No paintings can be attributed to Seu. Mr. Archer makes Māṇak leave Guler to paint the Basohli style *Gīta Govinda* in Basohli in A.D. 1730. Even if his Sanskritists' interpretation of the inscription is the correct one, there is no evidence that the Basohli style series was painted in Basohli (Mr. Khandalavala has suggested Guler as a possibility) or that this Māṇak was Seu's son. Māṇak, continues Mr. Archer, then returned to Guler and with his brother Nainsukh played a vital part in the creation of the Guler style. There is only one conceivable piece of evidence for this statement as regards Māṇak—the attribution to a Māṇak on the back of the famous *Blindman's Buff*, in Guler style of A.D. 1760-70 (my chronology) or in the 'Garhwal' version of that style. As for Nainsukh we know from inscribed paintings that he worked for Balwant Singh of Jammu, but there is no evidence at all that he worked in Guler. Māṇak, continues Mr. Archer, then left for Kangra soon after A.D. 1775 while Nainsukh stayed in Guler. Both statements are baseless conjectures. In short, there is no evidence to associate the name of Māṇak or, for that matter, of any other known painter with the *Gīta Govinda* under discussion or indeed with any of the great Guler style series.

I would like to hazard a suggestion how the A.D. 1730 inscription came to be copied on to our later series (Portfolios Nos. 2 and 3). I do this with diffidence since neither series has been fully published. The numbers on many of the folios of the later series do not follow the sequence of the poem, so that the text of the *Gīta Govinda* itself begins on the back of folio 15 (Portfolio No. 2, Pl. I). One important fact about this folio seems to have been overlooked: the first *śloka* has been omitted by the scribe, who begins with the second *śloka "ittham Nandanideśataśchalitayoh"* etc. Now the copy contains certain additions to the original colophon. At the beginning is added the syllable "OM" and at the end the numeral "I" both enclosed in double *daṇḍas*. I would suggest that these additions indicate that the scribe, either an indifferent or no Sanskritist, thought that the verse colophon which appears on the field of the miniature in the Basohli style series, was the first *śloka* of the poem. When he came to copy the beginning of the poem on the back of the first real miniature of the series, his eye jumped the first *śloka*, which he thought he had already written, and he began with the second *śloka*. An interesting variant of this common phenomenon appears in the note to Portfolio No. 2, Pl. I. The first line of the second *śloka* is given in facsimile but the writer of the Introduction translates also the missing first *śloka*, his natural anticipation deceiving his eye. It is perhaps worth adding that both the verse colophon and the first *śloka* of the *Gīta Govinda* begin with the letter 'm'. I put forward this suggestion on the assumption that the poem as well as the colophon was copied from the Basohli style series.

I do not wish to add to the welter of conjecture which surrounds these paintings, but cannot resist the observation that if the A.D. 1730 series in Basohli style was painted at Guler, a possibility suggested by Mr. Khandalavala, and our series in Guler style was also painted at Guler in A.D. 1760 to 1765 (my chronology), one can see how the copying of the colophon and text could have taken place.

D.B.

JOURNAL OF THE INDIAN SOCIETY OF ORIENTAL ART: Special Number, 1965-1966, Western Indian Art. Edited by Umakant P. Shah and Kalyan K. Ganguli. 1966. Price Rs. 25/-.

We record with great pleasure that JISOA has made a welcome appearance after many years under the Editorship of Shri Umakant P. Shah and Shri Kalyan K. Ganguli. It is a splendid number, full of very interesting articles on Western Indian architecture, sculpture and painting.
It brings out very interesting material. Particularly important is the article on some painted wooden book-covers from Western India by Muni Punyavijayaji and Dr. U. P. Shah. Discussions on stylistic and iconographic details are very useful to students of Indian art. The article is fully illustrated but the reproduction of colour plates could have been better. Another important paper is on the renaissance of the late Maru-Gurjara temple architecture by Mr. M. A. Dhaky, which is an authentic research on the style of Maru-Gurjara temple architecture. K.K. Ganguli's article is a short study of late mediaeval painting in Western India. The rest of the articles on sculptures and bronzes bring to light unpublished and interesting data. Shri U.P. Shah has already done a great deal for the history of ancient art in Gujarat particularly pertaining to Jainism and we hope that JISOA will again in his hands be regularly issued and maintain the high level of the present issue.

K.D.

CORRECTIONS IN LALIT KALĀ No. 13

Pl. V, Figs. 1, 2, 3 are 10th century A.D. instead of the 12th.
Pl. XV, Fig. 1 is 9th century A.D. instead of the 10th.
P. 38 line 10 Read Y. G. Doraiswamy instead of V. G. Doraiswamy.
Dr. Nagaraj Rao has sent the following corrected readings:
Inscription on p. 43.
Line 2 Read *Srīmanmahā* instead of *Srīmanmatra*
Line 7 Read *Dalmam* for *Dalmani*
Line 7 Read *Taltiriyalintivanenagalla* for . . . *pagalla*
Line 8 Read *Nunkala* for *Nunkata*, *Vitamam* for *Viramani*
Praptanada for *Praptamda*
P. 44 Line 13 Read *Mānasollāsa* for *Mabasikkasa*
P. 44 Line 31 Add Brāhmī to the list of the mothergoddesses.
P. 45 Line 22 Read Ruṇḍamālā for Muṇḍamālā
P. 45 Line 35 Read *Viśvakarmāśāstra* for *Viśvakarmāśātri*